

# THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM

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# EDITORIAL

W

ITH THIS ISSUE THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM makes its bow. . . To the many who have aided us and given promise of aid in the future, to the many who have sent us word of encouragement, to our contributors and friends, to our Founding Subscribers—we give sincere thanks.

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It is no easy matter, in times like these, to launch a new magazine; but THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM is not intended to be just another magazine. Our aim is to offer the men and women of this large Jewish community both an adult publication and a medium for the expression of their own views.

We do not arrogate to ourselves the right to speak for the Jew. No one has that right. The Jewish people speak for themselves. And it is hoped that in this publication they will seize the opportunity to speak.

More Jews are aware of their Jewishness today than ever before. Many of them are baffled and amazed. They hardly knew that they themselves were Jews. But they know it now, and they wonder what it means. . . . These newly-conscious Jews seek a civilized answer to their problem. They cannot be told to don sackcloth and ashes. They seek their answer in books. That, incidentally, is the Jewish way, for we are the people of The Book. . . . But all the traditional answers are not completely satisfying to them.—What does it mean to be a Jew?—The only answer, it seems, that some of them are able to find is that somehow the Jew has within him the vigor and will to survive.

That, to be sure, in these bitter and soul-scorching times, is almost answer enough. A world is in flames, and the white heat of its blaze tempers the Jew and all other freedom-loving people as they have never been tempered before. It is well to know, therefore, that we are a vigorous and toughened people. We have been burned and bled and driven to the four corners of the earth, but we have within us a genius for survival. Consciousness of such strength affords Jews, as well as all the other democratic peoples of the earth, the hope and the promise that freedom and the love of freedom cannot be destroyed.

For it is our love of freedom that accounts for our historic torment. Long before other men glimpsed the dawn of freedom, our Jewish ancestors had begun, in great numbers, to experience the fierce joy of dying for it. And we are dying for it, in even greater numbers today. Whenever the forces of oppression would lay evil hands upon the masses of mankind, they seek first to destroy the Jew. It is so today, and it was so throughout history, long before the concept of democracy was even given a name. It is for this reason that men are now taught to hate us. It was for this reason that they were taught to hate us in the past.

The Jew, in other words, is a symbol. He is the symbol of man's unconquerable will to freedom. His survival is proof that democracy will win, not only in this terrible war, but in the struggle with those who would prevent its growth in the future.

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THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM opens its pages to the men and women of this community for a discussion of this and other problems that confront us. We are a democratic people. Ours is a venture in democratic journalism. The sincere views of all our readers—whether they come from scholar or youth—will be welcome.

## *We Must Win the War*

Nothing matters today but the problem of winning the war. The issue is burningly simple; freedom against slavery, self respect against degradation, the enjoyment of culture versus the strangle hold of abysmal might.

Across the face of the earth moves the ponderous weight of calculated horror. In its march this colossus begrudges a spark of life to children; it kills old men and it insists on stud farms for women. Already in the wake of the savage, lie prostrate fifteen nations and there is not yet in sight a respite from its threat of a perennial state of tears and death.

The name of that monster is Nazism; a term which, in all its nakedness, symbolizes the most revolting things civilization fought against in its aspirations to make this a decent world. Nazism makes for class distinctions, race discrimination, contempt for religion, adulation of brute strength. Its disciples are taught treachery as a means to an end and its protagonists decree a martyr's death to all who would say nay to their nightmare blueprint of conquest. And men are dying on battlefields, in the sea and in the air that the scourge may not spread and its curse be lifted from the dawn of a better morrow.

Today we the citizens of the United States of America are locked in this struggle. We are irrevocably committed to destroy an enemy whose plan is the obliteration of our independence, our institutions, our very existence. Our democratic principles, our ways of life, our Bill of Rights, our practices of peace, in their very being are a threat to the concept of Nazism. We must not be, or Hitler cannot triumph; we must perish and all that we hold dear must wither; we must succumb to the status of chattels at the command of the Nazis. The Japs subscribed to this dictum, the Italians boast that such is our destiny and so say also the lesser satellites of the murderers who slaughtered the peoples of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Prague, Hongkong, Singapore, Chungking, Kiev and Athens.

We choose to accept no such destiny. We, Americans, conscious of the righteousness of our cause constitute today that arsenal of democracy from which issues the hope for the salvation of mankind. That hope we intend to realize into an uncompromising certainty and to that end we have dedicated ourselves. Our sons steeped in traditions of respect for the incalculable values that constitute our commonwealth stand now athwart the path of the beast that would destroy us.

The American troops are already attacking; soon, together with the valiant Russians, our sturdy allies—the English, and the indomitable Chinese, theirs will be the supreme task of championing the holy cause of the United Nations on a scale yet unknown. We must win the war.

To achieve this, we behind the fighting lines must subordinate our ease, our private ambitions, and routine of complacency. We must win the war. No sacrifice must be too great that promises in the least degree to sustain those who on foreign soil wage combat in behalf of our country. Our resources are great but so are the needs of the front lines. Above all we owe an incalculable debt to the thousands who have already died that this be a free and a united nation, that its principles remain impregnable, secure for those who seek its protection. To that end we dedicate ourselves. In the practice of such a purpose we see a definition of patriotism. That is the American way.

# *Saboteur of Democracy*

By HARVEY WISH

THE OFFICIAL ACCEPTANCE of anti-Semitism in recent years by the Japanese leaders, despite the virtual absence of Jews in the nation, illustrates a point ignored in too many recent discussions: Anti-Semitism is a deep-rooted tradition of hate which in modern times has become a consciously-adopted technique useful for an aspiring group to achieve power through a propagandist flank attack, rather than by the risk of a head-on collision. Unfortunately for the Japanese, however, their tradition of anti-Semitism is too recent an importation for them to hope that they might mask their program of Asiatic domination behind a world crusade against the Jew. This propagandist advantage is reserved for Europe and its own emigrant offspring.

Aside from the hatred held for certain Jews as individuals, anti-Semitism itself is as independent of the Jew as the old Salem witch burnings were independent of witches. In its most virulent form, anti-Semitism often reveals the inner crisis of a community; and in its milder aspects, this disease shows the unwitting transmission of an ancient virus, whose origin has long been lost by history. Pre-Christian times saw the mass persecution of Jews in Egypt, in the Babylonian dispersion, and occasionally under the lash of the Romans. Early Christian martyrs, whose ideas seemed wholly Jewish to the Romans, tasted the sufferings reserved for the Jew. In the ancient world, some of this persecution was merely the jealousy of conflicting political groups, but much of it was the expression of an undefined anti-Semitism whose alleged justification was given on varied and con-

flicting grounds. Christianity brought a new explanation for anti-Semitism in the Crucifixion, whose retelling in some communities made Easter week a nightmare for nearby Jews.

Gradually like the gypsy legends, the anti-Semitic tradition grew. Medieval Europe, troubled by recurrent epidemics of disease sometimes ascribed these to Jewish well-poisonings. The ancient Roman charge that Christians used the blood of children in their rituals was now transferred to the Jew. This medieval belief even entered the twentieth century in the sensational Mendel Beilis Case. The Jews, whom the Bible first records as a nomadic, then as an agricultural people found little room in the medieval European economy save in various mercantile pursuits, especially in the ostracized field of money-lending. Defaulting borrowers often thought it expedient to awaken the latent anti-Semitic tradition in order to despoil the lender. The despised role of the money lender in medieval teachings identified the Jew in the peasant mind with a sinister money power to which they attributed their ill-fortune. Although there were many Jewish communities which led a comparatively peaceful and prosperous life alongside their Christian neighbors, the social pressure of a local famine or the crusading spirit might convert this quiet scene into a holocaust.

With the coming of modern liberalism, marked by belief in competitive individualism, the Jew crept out of his Ghetto and his segregated life so as to assimilate himself in the outside world. Many German Jews, particularly, pathetically anxious

to be accepted by the majority outside, attempted to submerge their cultural identity in the national spirit of their gentile neighbors. The French Revolution, urging the slogan of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" helped to destroy the Ghetto in Western Europe. Where liberalism was best entrenched, there social discontent usually took other forms than anti-Semitism. In the cities, where the equalitarian philosophy was strongest, the Jews hastened to enter new fields hitherto denied to them. Only in the predominantly rural nations, where the anti-Semitic tradition was strong, were the Jews blocked, especially by the retention of the ancient laws against Jewish landowning.

Virulent anti-Semitism was revived with the Panic of 1873 which impoverished many and threatened others with a social insecurity which seemed bound up with the new forces of capitalism. The powerful banking House of Rothschild, for example, appeared to exemplify the evil influence of Jewish finance and peasant songs created legends of the mysterious influence of the Rothschilds on the world. The current belief in progress could not admit that advancing capitalism itself was evil; instead, anti-Semites insisted that the Jews had corrupted capitalism by their alleged international solidarity, typified in the far-flung institutions of the Rothschild family. In Germany, particularly, where the industrial revolution had come late and had brought with it a serious dislocation of life among the craftsmen and peasants, it was easy to identify the rising urban—commercial forces with the machinations of Jewish newcomers. Gerhart Hauptmann's play of the early nineteenth century, *The Weavers*, presents a graphic story of the harsh impact of the industrial revolution on German craftsmen. When Bismarck, for political reasons, chose to speak in 1879 of a *Kulturkampf*—a cultural war—against the Jews, he found amazing response.

German nationalism, unlike the liberal nationalism of the West, was beholden to Bismarck's autocratic policy of "blood and iron" for the successful unification of Germany. "Parliamentary majorities," as Bismarck put it, had failed to do the job of unification in 1849. The prestige of success therefore went to the anti-liberal forces, especially the reactionary landlords, the *Junkers*, with their strong militaristic and anti-Semitic bias. Adolph Stocker, court preacher and ardent nationalist, hastened to create an anti-Semitic party of his Christian Socialist organization. The Jews were identified with the hated doctrines of liberalism and the power of big business. Richard Wagner, representing the nationalistic trend in music, glorified the pagan traditions of ancient Germany and assailed the Jews. His son-in-law, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, praised the racial superiority of the "Aryans" and warned of the "Semitic peril" in *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. The rising vogue of Darwinism encouraged the belief that the Jewish danger was biological and menaced the blood stream of the "Aryans."

The depression of the nineties which brought with it considerable suffering among the masses and insecurity to the lower middle class gave fresh impetus to anti-Semitism. It was simpler to believe that some sinister personal elements had brought this misery on man, rather than accept the impersonal results of anarchic economic forces. In Vienna a clever politician, Karl Lueger, who was a member of the city council, and thereafter mayor, combined a program of social reform and anti-Semitism, driving the Liberals out of office. So successful were his assaults on capitalism as a Jewish creation that he won an ardent admirer in Adolph Hitler, who later paid his homage to this demagogue in *Mein Kampf*.

One of the earliest government sponsors of anti-Semitism was Czarist Russia, anxious to promote the "Russification" of its empire and rendered desperate by

its failure to solve the fundamental agrarian and factory problems. The Jews were compelled to live in segregated portions of the "Pale," where further economic prohibitions limited their freedom of action. Officially-inspired pogroms, as at Kishinev, Bessarabia, in 1903, decimated the Jewish communities. Russia's defeat by Japan brought with it a threat of social revolution which the government sought to divert into safer anti-Semitic channels by organizing the reactionary Black Hundreds in 1906 to terrorize the Jews. A sturdy literary monument of Czarist anti-Semitism was the forgery of the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion used to prove the existence of a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world. Although the London *Times* proved in 1921 that the Protocols were a clumsy imitation of a French political tract, entirely unconnected with the Jewish question, anti-Semites continued everywhere to cite its authority.

With the Soviet revolution, Russian monarchists, in an endeavor to weaken its influence, actively circulated the Protocols and spread the impression that the revolution was a Jewish plot. This too, entered the arsenal of anti-Semitic literature. Despite the ideological inconsistency of attacking both capitalism and communism as twin products of Jewish efforts, the anti-Semite was merely following the established tradition of using his propaganda as a flank attack on a major enemy.

The French, too, found that anti-Semitism obscured the deeper trends of their political and social life. Questions regarding the liberal tradition of the French Revolution, the labor problem, the position of the Church, the monarchist controversy, and the army leadership became confused by such propagandists as Drumont and his notorious *La France Juive*. The press attack in the Panama financial scandal of the nineties, by emphasizing the role of certain Jews involved, actually reflected a strong anti-

capitalistic feeling. All France was sharply divided into two camps over the Dreyfus case affecting a Jewish officer falsely accused of selling military secrets to the Germans. The victory of Dreyfus was essentially a triumph of the Liberal Republicans over the army clique. Intelligent French leaders recognized the danger to democracy which lay dormant in the dynamite of anti-Semitism.

In pre-war America, where favorable environmental factors operated, anti-Semitism showed itself only in a mild form. After the World War, reconstruction brought new conflicts between capital and labor, marked by such crisis as the Boston strike, the Herrin massacre, the Steel strike, and the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The new nationalistic feeling represented by Lathrop Stoddard and Madison Grant showed itself in a restrictive immigration policy which bore heavily on southern and eastern Europe the source of considerable Jewish newcomers. A quota system aimed at Jewish students, arose in many colleges. Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* published articles, which he later repudiated, warning of the danger in the "International Jew" and offering an Anglo-Saxon program of racialism which was later borrowed by Goebbels. A revived Ku Klux Klan added to the dangers created by the immediate post-war problems.

After a brief period of inactivity, anti-Semitism again scored with the depression of 1929, led by Alfred Rosenberg and Adolph Hitler. The Fuehrer was inclined to overlook no weapons in the armory of anti-Semitism. He popularized the famous "stab in the back" legend that the German army had never been defeated—which was balm to nationalistic hearts—but that Jews, Masons, and communists had betrayed the nation into revolution at what might have been the final victorious hour. The inflation of the twenties which had devastated the lower middle class, he presented as a Jewish plot. Even the Weimar Constitution, with its pro-

gressive idealism, became a tool of the Jews to dominate Germany. Nor was it difficult to destroy the free unions for they, said Hitler, were part of a Jewish-Marxist plot. Finally, to cap the climax, Hitler explained the origin of the gigantic second World War as Germany's defense against an international Jewish conspiracy, which was using democracy as a weapon of attack.

In the United States reverberations were not long in coming. The bitter attack on the New Deal was reinforced by irresponsibles like Elizabeth Dilling and her *Red Network*, the rejuvenated Silver Shirts of William Pelley, and various Nazi-inspired groups which found anti-Semitism excellent in political flanking manoeuvres. The Roosevelt administration became in the new literature of racial hate, the world center of a Jewish-Bolshevist plot for world domination. When the labor movement began to show a vigor hitherto lacking, anti-Semites attempted to discredit the C.I.O. and other groups as Jewish-Marxist organizations. There was increasing danger that the reform sentiment engendered by the sufferings of the depression might go down the blind alley of anti-Semitism.

Father Coughlin's movement, following the lines of similar pre-1939 trends in Poland, Austria, and Slovakia, appeared in 1933 only as an outmoded imitation of the Bryanism of the 1890's. However, like that movement also, the radio priest stressed the sinister role of the "international banker" and of secret financial plots. This was a suggestion of what was to come a few years later when Father Coughlin began to repeat the age-old clichés of anti-Semitism in the guise of an alleged impartiality. Thereafter his speeches became increasingly critical not only of Roosevelt and the Jews, but bore a striking resemblance to those messages over the ether waves from Berlin.

Once more, as America enters the war, the anti-Semites are at work. Sincere isolationists found it necessary, before the

war began, to part from many of their fellows who echoed the Nazi arguments as to the responsibility of the Jew for the war. Lindbergh's comment on this point showed that the anti-Semites had won a major convert. Serious employment discrimination against Jews, persisting despite the war need, reflects the activity of anti-Semitism. Since their former campaigns are now considered treasonable, anti-Semites are once more adopting the propaganda which Hitler used so successfully in winning votes, namely that the Jews, having caused the war, are now unwilling to fight it. Statistical proof to the contrary, as in Germany, will be ineffective. The war, and the peace, too, can be lost through such tactics, if these are not apprehended.

Of what avail are the current discussions as to the relative merits of Jews and non-Jews? What does this have to do with the problem of anti-Semitism? If the history of anti-Semitism proves anything, it shows that anti-Semitism operates without regard to specific Jewish acts in a given situation. It has become the best propaganda card of our enemies and its repercussions endanger us in a way that is not always immediately perceived. And it might be added that anti-Negro prejudice also is related to this problem in a way that educators would do well to note. Jim Crowism is never very far from anti-Semitism. Jews and Negroes, like anyone else would do well to search within themselves for the possibilities of self-improvement, but let us say emphatically, this behavior situation has practically no bearing on the traditions of anti-Semitism and similar forms of racial myths.

Through the accident of historic anti-Semitism, the burden of society's woes and its internal convulsions must be borne on the back of the Jew. He is helpless to change the situation and his continual soul-searching is a form of unnecessary self-torture totally irrelevant for the issue. Inevitably anti-Semitism will

create occupational mal-distribution and an occasional warped personality which will in turn invite further anti-Semitism. But even the humane character of a Louis Brandeis, an Albert Einstein, or their counterparts, has not prevented anti-Semites from casting their poisonous darts at them. And the German Jew who prided himself on his completely Teutonic outlook, finds that assimilation too is utterly meaningless to the anti-Semite who will discover the hypothetical Jew even if he has to dig into a long forgotten genealogy to do so.

Can the non-Jew afford to permit the potential explosive that is anti-Semitism to exist? While the answer is obvious the solution is less so. The university which might offer leadership is itself a victim of the ancient belief in the pariah role of the Jew, for this is reflected in the relatively few Jews admitted to college faculties and the informal quotas which exist

for Jewish students. Somehow the curriculum is rarely broad enough to offer a scientific treatment of anti-Semitism. High schools and elementary schools, whose offering is largely determined by college requirements, reflect the evasion of a major issue. It is to be hoped that American educators will never be called on to pay the price given by their German brethren for tolerating the anti-Semitic infection. Perhaps organized labor, conscious of its fresh energies, will be sufficiently intelligent to help stamp out this evil. The Church too is in a strategic position to lend its support to a genuine campaign of enlightenment. At any rate, let us have no more fruitless discussions of the "Jewish Problem" and give more considered attention to the true problem of anti-Semitism, or its weight accumulated over the centuries, will overwhelm our civilization.



*Symbol for the High Holidays*

A. RAYMOND KATZ

# *Anti-Semitism in Lincoln's Times*

By OTTO EISENSCHIML

MANY OF US who complain that the present time has more than its share of anti-Semitism look back on Civil War days as an era of comparative religious peace. It is quite understandable that they should do so. The country was then divided into two warring sections which fought each other vindictively, both on the battlefield and in the press. Moreover, the North itself was torn by internal dissensions, with Abolitionists, Peace Democrats, Republicans and Radicals tearing at each other's throats. It did not seem possible that either room or time was left for religious friction. But there was. Anti-Semitism, about which little was heard at the outbreak of the conflict, sprouted, and spread rapidly from then on. In the second year of the war, General Grant brought the matter out into the open. The blockade was on and proved a fearful weapon, slowly strangling the South to death. Cotton, her most abundant staple and the backbone of her economy, had to be sold outside her domain, as she stood badly in need of imported materials, guns, ammunition, quinine. The Treasury had drawn up certain rules for trading in cotton, which the North was as anxious to buy as the South was to sell; but these rules soon became mere scraps of paper. The financial returns of successful bootlegging were irresistible. Many of the venturesome from both sides of the Mason-Dixon line ran the blockade and smuggled cotton across the border, and soon conditions resembled those which this generation remembers shudderingly as prevailing in prohibition days.

It was then, on December 17, 1862, that

Grant issued his famous—or infamous—order No. 11, which read:

*The Jews as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department, and also department orders, are hereby expelled from the department within 24 hours from the receipt of this order.*

*Post commanders will see to it that all of this class of people be furnished passes and required to leave, and anyone returning after such notification will be arrested and held in confinement until an opportunity occurs of sending them out as prisoners, unless furnished with permit from headquarters.*

*No passes will be given these people to visit headquarters for the purpose of making personal application for trade permits.*

This order, implying that the illicit dealing in cotton was entirely in the hands of Hebrews, created a profound sensation. Jews throughout the nation rose in angry protest and pointed out that most cotton bootleggers were not Jews but Yankees,—Protestants of various denominations. When Lincoln heard of this extraordinary decree he did something unusual. Exercising his rights as commander-in-chief, he promptly annulled it and selected a Jewish messenger to hand Grant the overruling dispatch. Whether he did this to emphasize his rebuke or to assuage the outraged feeling of the Jewish community, or both, must remain a matter for speculation.

A few weeks later, on January 21, 1863, General Halleck sent Grant official confirmation of Lincoln's quick and drastic action in the following words:

*It may be proper to give you some explanation of the revocation of your order expelling all Jews from your department. The President has no objections to your expelling traitors and Jew peddlers, which, I suppose, was the object of your order; but as it in terms prescribed an entire religious class, some of whom are fighting in our ranks, the President deemed it necessary to revoke it.*

Charles A. Dana, later Assistant Secretary of War, was in Memphis at that time and wrote a confidential report to the Washington administration, in which he gave a pointed description of the conditions as they existed in Grant's military department.

"The mania for sudden fortunes made in cotton," he wrote to Secretary of War Stanton, "ranging in a vast population of Jews and Yankees . . . has to an alarming extent corrupted and demoralized the Army. Every Colonel, Captain or Quartermaster is in secret partnership with some operator in cotton; every soldier dreams of adding a bale of cotton to his monthly pay. . . ."

No, the Jews were not the only sinners in this speculative orgy but, as has happened so frequently, they received all the blame. Feeling among their correligionists ran so high, that when a Jewish committee called on Lincoln to thank him for correcting his general's *faux pas*, others objected. In their opinion, the case did not call for an expression of gratitude; to them an assertion of constitutional rights seemed more appropriate. Some groups even intimated that Grant should be dismissed. Although the incident soon was overshadowed by the exciting events of the war, Grant felt repercussions of his order No. 11 throughout the conflict and even during his Presidential years. Yet, in all probability he was entirely innocent of any intentional wrong-doing. According to Woodward, one of his most popular biographers, Grant had no convictions on anti-Semitism one way or the other and, in referring to the illicit traders as Jews, he only followed, as like as not, the jargon used by the soldiers around his headquarters. We have it from a trustworthy witness that Grant had not even known about the order, which was issued in his absence by some staff officer. The general was either too proud or too indifferent to put the blame on a subordinate and make the truth publicly known after he had discovered it.

Lincoln himself harbored only the kindest sentiments for the Jewish race. His tolerance toward all beliefs and opinions was one of his finest traits, and no one who has studied the character of the Civil War President will believe that he ever was inimical to any part of the population. However, there is more than negative evidence to prove Lincoln's attitude. One of his earliest friends was Abraham Kohn, City Clerk of Chicago, who presented the President-elect with a silk flag, bearing a Hebrew inscription from the first chapter of Joshua. Another of Lincoln's Jewish friends and confidantes was Abraham Jonas of Quincy, Illinois, whom Lincoln had known since his circuit-riding days. It was to him that the rail-splitter candidate once turned for help, when his opponents accused him of being a sympathizer of the Know-Nothings. The Know-Nothings were the party of intolerance and recognized only citizens of pure Anglo-Saxon stock as full-blooded Americans. Lincoln's very nature rebelled against such a view, or ideology as we call it euphoniously today, now that it has become fashionable to hide ugly traits behind the mask of an ambiguous word. Lincoln needed the Know-Nothing votes and, shrewd politician that he was, left it to his friend Jonas to squelch the rumor, thus sidestepping the embarrassing necessity of having to commit himself in public.

One of Lincoln's friends and most able campaign speakers, both in 1860 and 1864, was a Southern-born New York Jew named Dittendorfer. It was he who coined the verses containing the line "We are coming, Father Abraham, 500,000 strong." He became a presidential elector on the Republican ticket and was a frequent visitor at the White House during Lincoln's administration.

Yet, in spite of Lincoln's friendship for the Jews and the well-disposed or at least neutral attitude of most high-ranking officials, anti-Semitism was rampant in the later years of the Civil War. Simon Wolf,

a prominent Jewish lawyer of Washington, relates that he himself was once arrested while trying to advise some Southern refugees, and was brought before the notorious Colonel Lafayette C. Baker, Chief of the United States Secret Service. Baker accused Mr. Wolf point-blank of being a traitor, because he was a member of the B'nai B'rith which also had branches in the seceded States. Curiously enough, Wolf found a champion in the keeper of the Capitol prison, Colonel Wood, who was no angel himself and who never tired of bragging about his atheism. Together they went to Secretary of War Stanton. With expressions of displeasure and regret, Wolf's immediate release was ordered and effected.

By 1864, so Mr. Wolf tells us, anti-Semitism had assumed threatening proportions; unjust and irrelevant attacks against American citizens of Jewish faith had become prevalent not only in the Capitol, but all over the nation. In a letter to the *New York Evening Post*, Wolf complained bitterly that, "the war now raging had developed an intensity of malice [toward Jews] that borders upon the darkest days of superstition and the Spanish Inquisition. Has the war been inaugurated or fostered by Jews exclusively, . . . Are all the blockade runners and refugees descendants of Abraham?"

Wolf then complained that whenever a Jewish blockade runner was caught, the papers at once emphasized his religion, but they never mentioned his faith if he was a Methodist or a Presbyterian. On the other hand, when Jewish soldiers performed acts of heroism, no reference was made to their race.

"When you catch anyone guilty of a wrong," Wolf wisely suggested, "announce the fact—make no distinction . . . foment no prejudice, and thus only can we as a nation become national, free independent . . ."

Lincoln's attention was called to this letter, and he indignantly declared that no class of citizenship in the United

States was superior in patriotism to the Jews.

The *New York Evening Post* commented editorially on Mr. Wolf's protest and claimed that contemptuous references to Israelites were more often due to carelessness than to wilful malice." General Benjamin Butler, from whose headquarters a curious message once had gone to the Associated Press, excused himself on similar grounds. The message had stated that his troops, then stationed at Fortress Monroe, had captured 150 rebels, 90 mules, 60 contrabands [negroes] and four Jews. The telegram had been sent by a subordinate, who evidently thought himself a gifted humorist. It never would have gone out in that form, so Butler said, had he himself worded it.

That prejudice against Jews was common in Lincoln's times, even in such liberal-minded countries as Switzerland, is attested by a story told not long ago by Rabbi Leon Spitz, of Brooklyn, in the American Hebrew. A Jewish businessman had been sent to Zurich to represent his American firm. Upon his arrival he discovered, to his pained surprise, that men of his race were not allowed to reside in that particular locality. Secretary of State Seward was appealed to, but threw up his hands; he could not write the laws of another country, he said. When reports of the impasse reached Lincoln's ears, he chuckled.

"Seward," he asked, "who is our Consul at Zurich?"

"We have none, Mr. President," Seward replied.

"Well, we shall have one now," said Lincoln, rubbing his hands. "Just appoint this stranded Hebrew our representative. That will keep him there, I guess."

The present war had not, at least so far, followed the deplorable precedent set by the strife of eighty years ago. Anti-Jewish feeling there always was and there is now, but since Pearl Harbor it dares not appear overtly. No newspaper of any prominence refers to our race in

libelous terms, and those who have tried to lead openly hostile movements against us have been silenced. Perhaps we Jews are entitled to some credit for this friendly attitude on the part of our non-Jewish co-citizens. Hebrew soldiers have given up their Christmas vacations to their Gentile comrades; few Jews have been found violating the laws of the country or those of ethics, and no whispers are being heard accusing Jews of trying to make money out of our national emergency. The refugees from abroad are, on the whole, behaving admirably. Every Jew is doing his duty to the utmost of his ability. Jewish soldiers and officers are fighting on all fronts, and when peace

returns to this earth, we hope to hear that they battled and when the need arose, died with the best of them. May we again read testimonials, such as General O. O. Howard gave to his Jewish troops after the Civil War:

"It is impossible for me to do justice to those who served with me . . . who are of Hebrew extraction . . . I had a Jewish aide-de-camp, one of the bravest and best . . . I had another aide who was killed at the battle of Chancellorsville. . . . Two of my Jewish brigade commanders served ably and faithfully at Gettysburg. . . . There are no more patriotic men to be found in the country than those of Hebrew descent."

*Discourse*

DAVID BECKER

# Jewish Education and Democracy

By LEO L. HONOR

"It is written: 'And the tables were the work of God and the writing was the writing of God graven (*Harut*) upon the tables' (Exodus, 32:16). Read not *Harut* (graven) but *Herut* (freedom); for thou findest no free man excepting him that occupies himself in the study of the Law." (Pirke Abot, VI, 2).

THIS REMARKABLE PASSAGE in the supplement to *The Ethics of the Fathers* may in a sense be said to epitomize characteristic Jewish attitude. While indulging in fanciful play on words *Harut* (graven) and *Herut* (freedom), a third century rabbi was making a profound pronouncement that the essence of the Commandments of God was to be found in the fact that through them Man achieves freedom. In other words, the indispensable factors for freedom are self-discipline on the part of the individual and a just and equitable law for society. This thought, in turn, led to the corollary that education is the cornerstone of freedom and democracy.

"For this commandment which I command thee this day it is not too hard for thee, neither is it far off . . . but the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it." This passage from Deuteronomy found its echo in the Rabbinic democratization of Jewish life through the universalizing of Jewish education. In order to consummate the desideratum of freedom, the knowledge of the Law must be made universal; otherwise, it will not be possible for each individual to apply the teachings of the Law to his daily problems and tasks and make of the Law a "way of life." Rabbinic fancy likes to play with the thought that the Torah was given on Sinai to the entire people of Israel and not to a select few. The covenant relationship between God and Israel was entered into by all Israel. Similarly, at the

great convocation called by Ezra and Nehemiah the renewal of the covenant and the pledge to make Torah the basis of Jewish life was made by the whole people.

From this emphasis on the universal aspect of the covenant relationship there developed a number of significant democratic conceptions. There was no intermediary necessary between God and Man; every Israelite could commune with God directly. Accordingly, there was no line of demarcation between the laity and the spiritual leaders. There is an interesting Jewish folk-tale which illustrates this very strikingly.

A rich man and a poor man came to a rabbi to settle a dispute. From the arrogant manner with which the rich man treated his fellow litigant, the sympathy of the rabbi was aroused for the poor man. As he listened to the arguments of the two contestants, however, he became convinced that in this particular dispute the rich man was right and the poor man was wrong. He recalled the passage in Leviticus calling upon a judge to be absolutely impartial, not to respect the person of the poor nor to favor the person of the mighty. He, therefore, suppressed his inner sympathy for the poor litigant and gave the verdict which fairness demanded. Whereupon, the poor man arose and exclaimed: "I might have known beforehand that the verdict would be against me. In this world there is no chance for a poor man." This aroused the anger of the rabbi who had just gone through a profound psychological struggle in order to be fair and therefore could not stand the insinuation that he had deliberately favored the rich contestant and with impatience exclaimed, "Be still, you *Am-Haaretz*!" To this the poor man replied, "Rabbi, you may be a great scholar and I an ignorant person; nevertheless, you have no right to talk to me in this manner for the gulf between you and me is not very great. Nine men, such as you, do not constitute a *minyan* whereas ten men, such as I, do.

Another implication of this emphasis upon the universal aspect of the covenant relationship was the recognition that education too must be universal. (Unfortunately, in accordance with the notions prevailing in the ancient world this conception was limited to the male population.) Almost immediately after the great convocation called by Ezra and Nehemiah in which the pledge was made to make the Torah the basis of Jewish life there was a realization that the pledge could not be kept unless the Torah was made known to all the people who are expected to keep the pledge. Copies of the Torah were made and scribes, or teachers, were sent into every village and hamlet to institute a system of Jewish education for youth and for adults. These teachers who labored patiently and silently, whose very names are unknown to us, are responsible for giving to Judaism that strength which made it possible for the Jews, and for the Jews alone, to resist the assimilative forces of the Hellenistic world.

It is interesting to compare the development of education in Judea following the convocation of Ezra and Nehemiah with the similar development in Protestant Europe, when, as a result of the Protestant Reformation, authority was wrested from the hierarchy of the priests and placed in the Book which had to be made known to the common people if the people were to mold their lives in accordance with that authority. Literacy could no longer remain a mystic sacerdotal monopoly. Provision must be made for giving the common man the key to Holy Writ. Tortuous and indirect is the path which leads from the first stimulus to the present day conceptions prevailing in all countries which lay claim to the designation "civilized" that education is the right of every human being, and that education, therefore, must be made compulsory.

Similarly, the spark kindled by the scribes in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah was fanned into a great flame. By the time we reach the first century before

the Christian Era the Jews had become so aware of the importance of maintaining a universal program of education that one of the rabbis, Simon ben Shetach, instituted a series of educational reforms calling upon every community to meet its responsibility for the education of the children of the poor, especially orphan children. This process is carried further, and, in the first century of the Christian Era, Joshua ben Gamala brought about an educational enactment which called for the establishment of schools in every community with compulsory attendance from the age of six. With this step the Jews anticipated the modern world by almost 2,000 years.

In this brief sketchy analysis the writer has thus far attempted to trace the relationship between democratic conceptions inherent in the basic outlook of Judaism, and a democratic outlook on education. Similarly, it may be shown that the converse was also true, that the democratic educational program led to the further democratization of Jewish life. The objection has been raised that inasmuch as the Jews regarded the Torah as God-given and therefore not subject to amendment, Judaism cannot be spoken of as being intrinsically democratic. This contention is largely theoretic, inasmuch as the Torah was adapted by each generation to the changing conditions of life through a process of interpretation. One cannot set aside the Pharisaic mode of adapting Judaism and giving it flexibility without a complete misreading of Jewish history. Pharisaism indeed was a thoroughgoing revolution, whereby authority was wrested from a hereditary priesthood and placed in the hands of scholars. The democratic implications are apparent, for access to scholarship was available to all who sought it. The unusual character of the revolution rises from the fact that this radical transformation of Jewish society was brought about without repudiating the constitution from which authority of the priests had been derived.

The democratic conception of education made it possible for the Jew to survive the crisis emanating from the fatal rebellion which culminated in the destruction of the second Temple. How the Roman general must have scoffed when the aged Rabbi Johanan b. Zaccai pleaded for permission to found an academy. "What a time to think of academies! It is but a matter of weeks, perhaps days when your people will be utterly destroyed, and you have no other concern at the moment but to found an academy where you and your disciples can continue to study your strange Law! Go, you mad son of a mad people, and found your academy." But sixty years later when 'Judea devicta' or 'Judea capta' (the conquered Judea, the captured Judea) showed enough vitality to once more threaten the might of Rome, the Romans knew better, and in order to sap the source of Jewish strength, to prevent the possibility of a similar rebellion two generations later, the study of Torah was placed under the ban, and the teacher discovered teaching was punished with the death penalty. Had this ban not been repealed by Hadrian's successors, Jewish survival would undoubtedly have been impossible.

The traditions of the Jewish school continued through Talmudic and post-Talmudic times. The people which had been given the appellation, "The People of the Book," because it had given "The Book" to the world, earned the right to the name anew, because they had allowed the book to shape the national character and to mold the personality of every individual Jew. It is the prestige of learning during the medieval ages, the emphasis on the school, and the tremendous sacrifices on the part of the individuals and communities for the sake of Jewish learning, which made it possible for the medieval Jew to maintain his inner dignity despite outer degradation and humiliation.

It cannot be denied that in the modern world a radical change took place in the attitude of the Jew towards Jewish

values. As the Jews set out to seek the beauty of Japhet, consciously or unconsciously, they began to pay less and less attention to the living fountains from which their ancestors had drunk for generations, and from which they had derived so much strength. With the diminution of Jewish study came an attenuation of Jewish life and vice versa. The emancipation of the Jew, unfortunately, was achieved at the expense of a great inner loss. But the process did not continue unchecked for a long time—the tendencies to seek escape from Judaism, concomitant with a long and bitter struggle for the emancipation was followed by a recognition of the need for self-emancipation. At no time had the Jew completely lost his desire to transmit the Jewish heritage. Some form of Jewish education had been given to the Jewish youth by all groups who were interested in maintaining some form of Jewish life. The desire for self-emancipation expressed itself in an attempt to replace attenuated Jewish education with a program of Jewish education which possesses some degree of its former vitality.

What complicates the problem of Jewish education in the modern world is the fact that conditions of present day society necessitate our giving Jewish youth two types of education, secular and Jewish, the latter supplementing the former. Unhappily, however, the two are given independently without relating one to the other. The dichotomy thus created brings in its wake very unfortunate consequences. Early in the nineteenth century, an outstanding leader of the intellectual elements of Russian Jewry, Isaac B. Levinsohn, conceived a program for reforming the traditional education of Russian Jewish youth. With an uncanny perspicacity he anticipated the educational thought of the twentieth century and recognized the necessity of education which was related to life. Regrettably, however, his program called for a division into two worlds, the study of Torah in order not

to break with the past, and secular study which would include vocational training as a means of adjustment to the world at large. The synthesis of sacred and profane, which, as has been admirably pointed out by Hayim Nachman Bialik, the poet laureate of the Jewish Renaissance, has always characterized Jewish life, was missing in this program, otherwise so noteworthy. As time went on, this division became more and more marked. As the study of Torah began to function less and less, this study began to be regarded as a burden, and Jewish youth began to emancipate itself from the yoke of the Book. As long as Jewish education was the total education which Jewish youth received it had an appeal because it was the kind of education which enhanced life and gave Man freedom. It is unfortunate that when Jewish education became a supplementary education these lofty aims were turned over to general education and Jewish education was limited to the transmission of the heritage for the purpose of insuring survival. Jewish education was thus deprived of its *raison d'être* which must be restored to it in order to make it effective.

In the United States, from the time that the public schools had come into existence, the Jews have almost universally, reacted negatively to the idea of parochial education and have committed themselves to the public school as a means of integration into the American community. As a result Jewish education has been conceived almost exclusively as a supplementary type of education. This has been a very proper and normal development. It is deplorable, however, that the two forms of education have not become interrelated and that Jewish education has been allowed to develop in a disembodied form. When Jewish educators attempt to meet the problem and suggest a more integrated form of education, they are advised not to undertake in the supplementary Jewish school what are properly the functions of the public school. Their

attention is called to the fact that the Jewish teacher is already handicapped by the limitations of time, and is faced with tremendous difficulties in his task of transmitting the Jewish heritage. They are advised, therefore, not to complicate the problem further by adding additional functions to the Jewish school. Little do these shortsighted advisers realize that the Jewish child cannot live in two worlds, that Jewish education can only become effective when the supplementary school gives the Jewish child an opportunity to buttress with the force of Jewish tradition the values which he has learned to cherish in the public school and through living in American democratic society.

What is the most desired outcome of American education if not a recognition of Democracy as a way of life? What an opportunity is lost if in the Jewish school the Jewish child is not given an understanding and appreciation of the spiritual values which make Democracy meaningful and worthwhile. Should not the Jewish school make the child conscious that the essence of Democracy consists in the recognition of human dignity and the worth of personality? What more effective instrument can there be for this purpose than the fervent expressions in the literature which our people has given to the world? Moreover, in a world, where the thought that Democracy implies the right to be different is just beginning to dawn, should not the Jewish child be made aware of the two thousand year struggle of his people for that very right, and through that awareness roused to the desire to continue that struggle?

The Jewish school must of necessity utilize the unique pattern of Jewish thought and experience. The Jewish school, however, cannot afford to limit itself to the transmission of the Jewish heritage. Jewish education must through the heritage challenge our youth to perceive the imperfections of present day society and stimulate it with an urge to

dedicate itself to help build up a new and better society, a society in which there will be no dominating or dominated group, a society rooted in the concept of mutual cooperation. Jewish study must lead to the enlistment of our youth, in efforts calculated to give man *freedom* and bring into being a true brotherhood of mankind in which there will be room for differences and in which all individuals and groups will be given a maximum opportunity to find consummation and realization of historic destiny. Jewish education in our present day society will

come into harmony with the long hallowed tradition of our people, only when it will once again function as a means of relating the Law to Life, of synthesizing the sacred and the profane, when Jewish education will once more give forth a clarion call for the building of a juster and more humane society. Then, and then only, will it be possible to declare with the third century Rabbi "Read not *Harut* (graven) but *Herut* (freedom) for thou findest no free man excepting him that occupies himself in the study of the Law."



Jerusalem Beggars

TODROS GELLER

# The Poetry of Isaac Rosenberg

By DAVID DAICHES

OF THE MANY young men killed in the First World War, who, if they had lived, might have changed the map of post-war literature, two young British poets stand out above all others. These are Wilfred Owen and Isaac Rosenberg. Owen was killed at the age of twenty-five in November, 1918, and Rosenberg, some two years older, was killed in March of the same year. A lot has been written about Owen, and his work is comparatively well known. At the time of his death he had, though younger than Rosenberg, developed further as a poet than the latter, for he had had a richer educational background and life had been smoother for him in his formative years. About Rosenberg less has been said, and though his collected works were published in England in 1937, edited by Gordon Bottomley and Denys Harding and with a foreword by Siegfried Sassoon, his work has had little attention in this country.

"I have recognized in Rosenberg," says Sassoon in his foreword, "a fruitful union between English and Hebrew culture. . . . Scriptural and sculptural are the epithets I would apply to him." This union between English and Hebrew culture was particularly congenial to the spirit of English poetry, which had been nourished on biblical imagery for centuries. In a sense, the King James version of the English Bible was the product of such a union, and so was the poetry of Milton. But Rosenberg was the first Anglo-Jewish poet to demonstrate in English verse the characteristic myth-making faculties of his people. Disraeli, with his florid imagination and his love of the romantic

gesture, had demonstrated in novels like *Alroy* qualities which the normal Western mind likes to think of as "oriental," but which in truth were derived less from any ancestral tradition than from that tradition of the "oriental tale" which descended through Beckford, Southey, Byron, Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, and a host of forgotten works. Rosenberg's was more definitely a Jewish sensibility, at home in the English language and in the traditions of English poetry. Had he lived to fulfill his promise he would have brought to twentieth century English poetry that very richness of imagination and fertility of poetic invention which it conspicuously lacks.

His life was not an easy one. Born in Bristol, England, in 1890, he came with his family to London seven years later and grew up in the East End. His parents were not well off, and all the schooling he received was what was afforded by elementary schools in Stepney until he was fourteen, when he had to leave and look for work. Interested at that time more in art than in poetry, he became apprenticed as an engraver in a firm of "art publishers." Though his general schooling was over, he did find the opportunity to go to evening classes at the Art School of Birbeck College, University of London. He was set on painting as a career. In 1911 three wealthy Jewish ladies—Mrs. Delissa Joseph, Mrs. E. D. Lowy, and Mrs. Herbert Cohen—became sufficiently interested in this obviously talented young man to provide the funds that enabled him to study at the Slade School of Art. While studying art at the Slade School he also worked more and more at

his poetry, and by 1914, without giving up his painting, had definitely decided on poetry as his major interest.

But the kindness of the three charitable ladies did not solve all problems for young Rosenberg. It was not easy for a sensitive and gifted young poet and painter to get on with his well meaning patronesses, and some letters from him to Mrs. Cohen indicate that there was considerable awkwardness between him and that lady. The reader can draw his own conclusions, but the following extracts from two letters of Rosenberg's to Mrs. Cohen make it clear the fault was hardly the young man's:

"I am sorry (he wrote to Mrs. Cohen, letter undated) if there was any confusion about paying the Slade fees. I still have the cheque and was waiting for the other 5 shillings so as to pay it all. I thought I could pay it out of this week's money but I have had extra expenses—mending boots and other little necessities, which made it awkward. I must thank you for returning my letter as it gives me a chance of doing that which you said ought to be done—of throwing it in the fire. I am very sorry that you noticed it as of course I did not, or I shouldn't have sent it. I said what I had to say, and had done with it, it must have been quite an accident its smudging. I don't think any other letters of mine are in that state. No stranger could receive such a letter of mine as I never write to strangers."

The reader will be able to construct for himself the story behind this letter, as well as the meaning of the following:

"Dear Mrs. Cohen:

I am very sorry I have disappointed you. If you tell me what was expected of me I shall at least have the satisfaction of knowing by how much I have erred. You were disappointed in my picture for its unfinished state—I have no wish to defend myself—or I might ask what you mean by finish—and you are convinced I could have done better. I thank you for the compliment but I do not think it deserved. I did my best.

You did ask me whether I had been working hard, and I was so taken aback that I couldn't think what to say. If you did not think the work done sufficient evidence, what had I to say? I have no idea what you expected to see. I cannot conceive who gave you the idea that I had such big notions of myself, are you sure the people you inquired of know me, and meant me. You say people I have lately come in contact with. I have hardly seen anyone during the holidays. . . . If one does anything in an unguarded moment—perhaps an expression of what one would like to be—it is distorted and

interpreted as conceit—when in honesty it should be overlooked. I am not very inquisitive naturally, but I think it concerns me to know what you mean by poses and mannerisms—and whose advice do I not take who are in a position to give—and what more healthy style of work do you wish me to adopt? . . ."

This is the old story of the patron of art thinking that if he pays the piper he can call the tune. It is clear that Rosenberg suffered considerably from such interference. "Art," he wrote to Mrs. Cohen, "is not a plaything, it is blood and tears, it must grow up with one." Before the year was out he had "thrown over his patrons" (his own phrase) "they were so unbearable." He managed another two years at the Slade without them.

Throughout his three years of art schooling he continued to write poetry, with the encouragement of his sister, who saw to it that copies of his poems were circulated among friendly critics. Gradually he aroused the interest of poets like Laurence Binyon, Gordon Bottomley and R. C. Trevelyan. In 1912 he published at his own expense a pamphlet of poetry, entitled *Night and Day*. Two others followed, also published at his own expense: *Youth* in 1915, and *Moses, A Play*, in 1916. He became friendly with Edward Marsh, the editor of *Georgian Poetry*, and corresponded with him fairly regularly. Through Marsh his poems were introduced to a wider circle of poets and critics.

As for his poetic development, the following extract from an early letter to Miss Seaton (a friend who had constantly encouraged and advised him in his art interests) is illuminating:

"You mustn't forget the circumstances I have been brought up in, the little education I have had. Nobody ever told me what to read, or ever put poetry in my way. I don't think I knew what real poetry was till I read Keats a couple of years ago. True, I galloped through Byron when I was about fourteen, but I fancy I read him more for the story than for the poetry. I used to try to imitate him. Anyway, if I didn't quite take to Donne at first, you understand why. Poetical appreciation is only newly bursting on me. I always enjoyed Shelley and Keats."

It was Miss Seaton who sent him John Donne's poems (this was in 1910, two years before Grierson's great edition of Donne started a new movement to rehabilitate that poet). He replied:

"Thanks so much for the Donne. I have just been reading Ben Johnson again, and from his poem to Donne he must have thought him a giant. I have read some of the Donne: I have never come across anything so choke-full of profound meaningful ideas. It would have been very difficult for him to express something commonplace if he had to."

In art, his earliest admiration was for Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites, but though his early work does show Rossetti's influence (such as the clear and simple "Sacred Love," 1911-12), his later work, such as "The First Meeting of Adam and Eve," (1915) shows a sterner style. But even his early painting is not all Pre-Raphaelite: the "Portrait of the Artist's Father" (if one may judge from a black and white reproduction done in 1911) is reminiscent of Cezanne. As a painter he was eclectic and talented. He was a careful and conscientious draughtsman.

But it is as a poet that Isaac Rosenberg is remembered. Before proceeding to discuss his poetry, however, let me finish the summary of his life. He left the Slade School in 1914, in ill health (he had a weak chest and was threatened with tuberculosis) and without a job. For his health's sake he decided to go to South Africa, to his married sister in Cape Town, hoping to come back after a short while to England with sufficient paintings of South African scenes to bring him in some money. But he spent more time on poetry than on painting. In 1915 he returned to England, still unwell, and deeply upset about the war, which he saw as an unjustified and senseless slaughter. Yet in the same year, sick and unhappy, he enlisted in the army, though physically unfit for military service. He served and suffered without complaint, although being both Jewish and a poet he was an obvious victim for young and

arrogant officers.. Early in 1916 he went to the front, and continued to write poetry in the trenches almost until the end. His last letter, written to Edward Marsh four days before he was killed, is full of plans for future poetry and painting, though he admits that he has been finding it difficult to write poetry under present conditions. "My vocabulary small enough before is impoverished and bare." This letter, of which this statement is the last sentence, was postmarked April 2, 1918—the day after he was killed in action.

Why Rosenberg, who hated the war and saw no cause for it, joined the army voluntarily is made clear in a letter to Edward Marsh, in which he wrote:

"I never joined the army from patriotic reasons. Nothing can justify war. I suppose we must all fight to get the trouble over. Anyhow before the war I helped at home when I could and did other things too which helped to keep things going. I thought if I'd join there would be the separation allowance for my mother. At Whitehall it was fixed up that 16/6 would be given including the 3/6 a week deducted from my 7/—. It's now between 2 and 3 months since I joined; my 3/6 is deducted right enough, but my mother hasn't received a farthing. . . . I wonder if you know how these things are managed and what I might do."

This extraordinary young man actually joined the army in order to provide his mother with some extra money. The peculiar heroism which made a pacifist fight and be killed in order to help support his mother needs no elaboration. (Incidentally, that Rosenberg would have approved of the war had he been convinced that the issues really were what they were publicized as being cannot be doubted by any one who has read, e.g., his verse play *Moses*. When he said that "Nothing can justify war," he was overstating his case for in his poetry he talks of the necessity of slaves fighting for their freedom. It is no sophistry to conclude that he would have seen the necessity of fighting in the present war.)

\* This and the other quotations are from Harding and Bottomley's edition of the collected books (London 1937).

The outstanding feature of Rosenberg's poetry is the kind of poetic imagination which it reflects. He saw the world in myths and parables. Violent in imagery, supple and sometimes over-loose in rhythms, his poems gain cohesion from his capacity for making symbols out of incidents. His earliest poetry is more simply the poetry of statement, amplified and enriched by vivid and appropriate imagery. But as he developed he began to display qualities akin to those of Blake and Shelley and Yeats—the mythopoetic faculty, the faculty of constructing symbolic patterns everywhere. In his earliest poetry, too, he writes often on simple Jewish themes—as in the poem "Zion," written in 1906, or the "Ode to David's Harp" in 1905. In his later work he blends Jewish and occidental traditions into patterns of multiple meaning, so that his Moses is more than the Moses of the Old Testament but a symbolic figure interpreted in the light of more universal conceptions. There is a kind of richness in some of his poems that we see nowhere else in modern poetry—the richness which derives from the fusion of diverse cultures. In the many drafts of his strange and interesting unfinished play *The Unicorn* we can see how obscurity results from the myth bearing too many meanings at once.

Another feature to be noted is what might be called the plastic quality of his work. The sense of color form and movement is everywhere in his later poetry. Yet there is an impatience too; the strokes are sometimes too broad, or made with too much violence for precision. This violence can be effective if the subject is fitted for it—as in the tremendous and astonishing poem "God," with its vivid opening:

In his malodorous brain what slugs and mire  
Lanterned in his oblique eyes, guttering  
burned!  
His body lodged a rat where men nursed souls.  
The world flashed grape-green eyes of a foiled  
cat.  
To him. On fragments of an old shrunk power.

On shy and maimed, on women wrung awry.  
He lay, a bullying hulk, to crush them more.  
Ah! this miasma of a rotting God!

And the final one-line stanza:

Rosenberg was an impatient poet, for whom discipline came slowly. But he did carry the meaning whole in his head before he began to write, so that while his poems are often unequal or fragmentary, even the fragments are always parts of a unity, stars in some definite if unknowable constellation. And his accent, in his later work, is always his own. His war poetry—poetry descriptive of aspects of life in the trenches—possesses a violent clarity, the result of his ability to seize on a few appropriate images and crush them together until their meaning cries out to the reader. "Break of Day in the Trenches" is a short poem built around the conception of the cosmopolitan rat who goes from English to German trenches: its effectiveness lies not in the "subject" but in the way the imagery is molded. And the two savage poems on the tortures of lice in soldiers' clothes transcend the triviality of their theme by the perfect violence of the movement. "Louse Hunting" can be put beside Burns's very different "Address to a Louse" as one of the two really successful poems in English on that theme.

The more one reads Rosenberg's poetry the more one is convinced of the essential genius of the man. Even in his earliest verse the unique image, the startling conception, arrest the reader into attention and admiration. His career is less easy to divide into stages than that of Wilfred Owen, the shape of whose career was already fairly clearly visible by the time of his death. But of Rosenberg one can say only that his violent fluid poems, so various in mood and technique, are the work of a man who spoke naturally with the accent of a poet and who, had he lived, would perhaps have been the most distinguished Anglo-Jewish man of letters that England and the Jewish people have yet produced.

# Nazi Science

By DAVID P. BODER

THERE IS A fundamental aspect of Nazi anti-Semitism which places it in a class by itself: it is an onslaught without a chance for the victim to surrender. The pogrom regime of the Tsars, confronted the Jew with the sword in one hand and the "olive branch" (conversion) in the other. However, the Nazis feared to give to the Jews of Germany such an alternative. They were afraid that the "scape-goat" might escape. Unlike the Tsars, they did not need anti-Semitism as a theory for the justification of an existing order or for the defense of an economic class. Fascism is by no means "conservative." It is a movement toward the creation of a new order, a new ruling minority, armed to the teeth, which would divest capital and labor alike of any right to participate in the economic and social life of the nation beyond the needs of the ruling band. In short, it is a movement to enslave their own people.

The strategy of the Nazi party was, from the beginning, very similar to the now familiar strategy of its war-machine. Its first movement was a pincer attack upon the life and liberty of the German nation. As it is obvious now, the Nazi attacks upon the Versailles treaty, upon the Jews, upon religion, upon communism, were skilfully planned thrusts designed to destroy the liberal foundations of the Weimar constitution. Playing some of their intended victims against others, they got men like Thyssen to arrange "loans" for the Nazi party from financial circles outside the boundaries of Germany. But their purpose was always to "liquidate" these and all other aids whenever they should find them to be of no

more use to them. In this, as we well know, they have been dastardly efficient.

Their "efficiency" goes farther, however, than their employment of their own diabolical cleverness. They have made effective use also of the traditional "efficiency" of the German people. We have come to realize, all too sadly, how skilfully they have employed the traditional German "efficiency" in military tactics and in machine-shop practice. These, coupled with political legerdemain, have enabled them to engulf nearly the whole of Europe.

But the Nazi objective goes beyond mere military conquests. The Nazis seek to establish, not merely a "new" order, but a "permanent" order; and for this they feel it necessary to alter the established beliefs of their people. We are all familiar with the important part played by the "sociologist" Rosenberg in this respect. But not many are familiar with the uses to which the Nazis have put, not merely sociological and philosophical concepts, which traditionally lend themselves to various interpretations, but the less pliable laboratory sciences as well.

One of the beliefs which the Nazis felt it necessary to alter was the old Nietzschean Superman idea. It had to be altered because it smacked too much of self-improvement or paranoic self-aggrandizement. As such, it had become sterile for Nazi purposes. "A Zarathustra in the bag of every soldier," was a slogan which Frau Foerster, the sister of Nietzsche, attempted to promote during the last war. But striving toward Superman came to be rather dull, good enough perhaps to justify the jilting of a pregnant sweet-

heart, or the looting by soldiers of a poor farmer, or other sadistic atrocities. But in the new order such comparatively passive contemplation of an ideal had to be supplanted by an active struggle, not against a single harmless individual nor a great number of harmless individuals, but against a "type"—against a "type" that could be proved harmful to the whole "superior" race among men. And this is where the peculiar nature of Nazi anti-Semitism comes in.

It was not enough for the Nazis to rely upon the traditional objections to the Jew. And it would certainly not do to offer the Jew the choice between the sword and the "olive branch." It was necessary to establish him as a biologically inferior, and, therefore, harmful type who must cease to exist if the "superior" race is to flourish and achieve its destiny.

With traditional Germanic "efficiency," this *anti-man* or *Gegentypus* was first presented in scientific journals without specific reference to the Jew. Nor was even the term *Gegentypus* used before the Nazis actually came to power. First hidden in scientific articles under the enigmatic name of the S-type, it was brought to light later, under Nazi "protection" and encouragement, under the new descriptive name, *anti-type*.

Men of science did not all flock to the Nazi bandwagon, of course,—not at once; but in time the march in that direction became pretty general. Thus, Philipp Lenard, the prominent German physicist and Nobel Prize winner (1920) when Hitler's place as Reichschancellor was practically assured, writes in November 1932:

"What is it that attracts me so to Hitler, who himself is no scientist? It is the respect for the truth which I always have observed in him, his wish to embrace the truth and bring it to power. . . . Who would not desire to have Hitler as leader, he who is full of respect for Truth, and fights for it; he who brings enlightenment to the millions, in the spirit of Truth?"

"The mainsprings of the National Socialistic Movement which is transforming today the whole picture of reality, lies outside the boundaries of Reason," states Jaensch the famous Marburg professor. And again in another place: "The commandment in those times [the early days of the Nazi struggle: D.P.B.] was: divided we march but united we strike. The fighter with the fist [notice *fist*, not sword: D.P.B.] had to follow his own path, and the fighter with the brain had to tread also his own—both well conscious that they belong inseparably together, that they strive toward the same goal but by different means, and that one day their forces will join and march forward together in the common struggle." So speaks Erik Jaensch, the scientific protagonist of Nazism. He sympathetically admits that among the true friends of "the great movement" are people who consider that reason [*der Verstand*] is to be divested of respect and even banished. He respectfully undertakes to show that "although the [Nazi] movement is applying its levers of transformation to the deeper strata of the human organism outside the boundaries of reason . . . it [the Nazi movement] does not contradict but is, on the contrary, in perfect harmony with the laws of Reason."

#### *The Case of Jaensch*

Erik Jaensch was born in 1883, and died in 1940, as professor of philosophy at the University of Marburg and President of the German Association of Psychology, a post he held since 1936. His first "election" to the executive board of the society coincides with the "election" of Adolph Hitler to the highest post of the land.

The only reason why Jaensch should be singled out for analytical study is the fact that long before 1933 he justly enjoyed world fame as an outstanding experimental psychologist. Together with his brother, Walter Jaensch, he had exhaustively studied the phenomenon of

Eidetic imagery,\* and had directed a wide group of students in the investigation of visual perception in general. However, already in the twenties, he embarked upon the field of personality studies based not directly on the facts of laboratory investigation, but rather on bizarre analogies and far fetched inferences from laboratory findings possibly otherwise correct.

Erik Jaensch is the founder of the so-called Marburg school of psychology. It so happened that he succeeded (nominally as professor of philosophy) another notable in the history of German thought, namely the founder of the famous Marburg school of philosophy, or Neo-Kantianism: professor Hermann Cohen (1842-1918).

Hermann Cohen became instructor at Marburg in 1873 and full professor in 1876. After his retirement, in 1912, Cohen joined the Institute of Jewish Studies of Berlin devoting considerable time to the study of the philosophical aspects of the Jewish religion.

According to Jaensch, Cohen (possibly in a jesting manner) called himself, during his last years of life, a Baal-Tshuvah Jew, to be interpreted as something like a prodigal son who after long years of wandering had returned to the fold. It seems to transpire from Jaensch's writings that, in spite of the fact that the onset of Cohen's career coincides with the dawn of experimental psychology, which soon spread all over the world, Cohen was unable to recognize the promise of this new scientific approach to the study of man, and seemed to have exercised somewhat more than a pure scientific opposition to the development of experimental psychology at Marburg.

We return now to Jaensch. We find in his pro-Nazi activities something more than the parading of a scientist in favor of a doctrine outside the boundaries of

his own field. . . . John Dewey does it. Einstein does it. Compton does it. And so do a host of others. A scientist should be entitled to his personal views on such matters, as any other citizen would be. But the case of Jaensch is entirely different. He does not simply claim the right of the professor to his social and political convictions, but he asserts that his laboratory experiments performed under the wings of a well accredited old university, in association with a brother trained in medicine, and with numerous competent co-workers, present direct and undisputable evidence for the existence of a biological type with tissues and plasma inherently so constructed that he is bound, even without any intention, to exercise a disintegrating (lytic), polluting influence upon an environment which tolerates his presence.

Before continuing the discussion I wish to state that it is not my intention to drag the lay-reader into a controversy on psychological methods. It is my opinion that the whole laboratory material of Jaensch should be made a topic of thorough statistical and experimental scrutiny. At present I am not taking issue with the experiments, but with the unwarranted inferences and conclusions. Most of all, it is my purpose to indicate the true nature of "Nazi science."

In order not to distract the attention of the reader with constant bibliographical references, we may state here that the further discussion is based on Jaensch's latest and most extensive opus *Der Gentypus*, the Anti-type, a volume in excess of 500 pages, published in Leipzig in 1938, and to a lesser extent upon his other numerous writings, especially the one on "The Reconstruction of the German Student youth and of the Universities" (Leipzig 1937).

#### *The Laboratory Findings*

A number of experiments on visual perception, and the association of ideas led Jaensch, back in the twenties, to

\* For a discussion on Eidetic imagery see Kluver's article in the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

postulate the existence in the general population of two reaction types. The I-type (later renamed the J-type) and the S-type, (later renamed the Anti-type). "I" stands for integration; "S" stands for synesthesia. In the words of Jaensch, "I" is the type of unified consistent personality. "S," loosely speaking, represents the opposite. So far psychologists have barely reached any method for classification of personality types of the normal population, but I have decided for the purpose of this article to accept the factual *laboratory* material of Jaensch as correct.

Synesthesia is the tendency of some individuals to have color experiences when listening to a tone, or to music in general, and to have tone experiences when looking at colors or pictures. It has been suspected that the tendency of some painters to call their canvases by musical names, such as "Nocturne" by Whistler, or the tendency of composers to refer now and then, in their titles, to color, such as the American favorite, "The Rhapsody in Blue" by Gershwin, has its roots in synesthetic tendencies.

According to Jaensch, synesthesia is a frequent characteristic of individuals who in other ways manifest degenerative symptoms. Synesthesia is a stigma, and S means a synesthetic, stigmatized, sthenic type. (Sthenic is used not as opposite of asthenic, but as indicative of violent, intensive morbidity, or a violent destructive tendency toward the world.) The S-type may not necessarily "suffer" from synesthesia in the narrow sense. (The number of such cases would be rare indeed.) To Jaensch "synesthesia" means that a given content in one sensory field is associated with an experience in the other sensory field in spite of the absence of adequate stimulation. The terms are broadened to the extent of becoming meaningless.

Let us take another experiment from Jaensch's abundant arsenal, the so-called spiral experiment.



Jaensch claims that his subjects demonstrated consistently reliable differences in their reaction to the so-called spiral experiment. If the disk (see figure) is slowly rotated so that it appears to contract toward the center, and is then abruptly stopped, it creates an illusion that this disk expands eccentrically. Both the J- as well as the S-type experience the phenomenon, sometimes even with an added illusion of perspective. But for the J-type the experience is supposedly limited to these two illusions. Not so in the case of the S-, or anti-type. The anti-type reads into the stimulus a number of fantastic components. Sixteen out of twenty-five subjects (and there is no indication that any one of them was Jewish) projected into the spiral perfectly extraneous occurrences, such as scenes from a motion picture recently seen; a few even experienced something like being caught in a storm.

No psychologist will doubt that such differences in response to a stimulus may occur. But we certainly must demand actual, statistically reliable data for tuberculosis and schizophrenic patients in juxtaposition with a normal control group before admitting (as Jaensch claims) the coincidence of certain behavior patterns with these forms of pathology. As to the specific racial correlations, the scientific requirements are as simple as they are imperative. A representative large Jewish group and a non-Jewish group, paired for social status, intelligence, occupation, and other factors, should be submitted to the

battery of Jaensch's tests. Only if statistically reliable differences can be found between the reactions of these two groups, can the racial aspect of such reactions be considered. As to the correlations of such typological characteristics with liberalism, or with an anti-Nazi outlook of life, Jaensch certainly had good opportunity to test a reliable number of Storm Troopers, on the one side, and the Jewish, as well as the non-Jewish, population of the concentration camps. But nowhere in the publications of Jaensch or his followers do we find any attempt to make use of such material.

To summarize the discussion so far: on bases of possibly reliable experiments, as such, is built a thoroughly unfounded, speculative superstructure of race theory and psychological anthropology.

Jaensch claims, on the basis of "pains-taking research," to have proved "scientifically" the following postulates:

1. The population of Germany may be subdivided into two broad biological types: (1) the integrated constructive type, the J-type; (2) the disintegrating and disintegrator type, the S-type or Antitype (often also called the *lytic* type). Of the Antitype Jaensch writes: "Although Jewry is the main representative of the Antitype and embodies him in a large compact mass (which is of course the cause of the danger) it would be erroneous and superficial to assume that such a fundamental form of humanity is to be found among the Jews alone." In other words, the S-type, a biologically inferior type of organism, is represented by all the Jews and by numerous Germans as well. According to Jaensch the culture of Germany has been, for the centuries preceding the advent of the Nazis, a sick culture. But, says Jaensch: "Cultural politics and cultural philosophy are not bound by the picture of the average human being. They strive toward ideal norms of health, and from this standpoint the average population of an epoch may be branded as morbid." This morbidity is, according to Jaensch, by no means allegorical. It is a biological morbidity due to organic causes,

and due to a culture which for centuries has cultivated the survival of a generation of Germans polluted by heterogenous mixture of races, by tuberculosis and schizophrenia.

2. The Jew represents the antitype in pure form. Unlike the Aryan race which is simply polluted by antitypical persons of Aryan origin, the Jewish people is *almost* entirely composed of antitypical individuals.

3. The antitype is liberal because of his biological instability. Instability in perceptual processes is linked to instability in principles of ethics and logic.

4. In the laboratory the antitype, according to Jaensch, shows the absence of a stable time sense, and the deviation of his time appreciation from actual time is large. From here on it is claimed that the J<sub>s</sub>-type, i.e., the otherwise most integrated ideal Nordic type, behaves as if he possesses an "inner clock" which is not influenced by the content of time. Not so with the S-type. For him the subjective judgment of a time interval is greatly influenced by the content. Such an S-type supposedly talks in Bergsonian terms without ever having read anything by the famous French-Jewish thinker. "The well-defined S<sub>s</sub>-type shows, in the realm of time experience, the same absence of connection with objective reality which is so characteristic of the biologically determined liberalism." (p. 293). Such people are Einstein enthusiasts, without knowing much about the theory of relativity, simply because they believe that the objective and therefore compulsory order of time is being 'relativised.' "This is a significant characteristic of the liberalistic time experience of the disintegrator-type, as well as an indication of the cause for the excessive popularity of the theory of relativity in a culture of disintegration. The time conception of Marcel Proust *who apparently* [italics mine: D.P.B.] suffered from tuberculosis, is that of an S<sub>s</sub>-type, like Bergson. And Thomas Mann, in his 'Magic Mountain,' a work so eagerly read by our [apparently German: D.P.B.] tuberculosis patients, deals in a special chapter with the peculiarities of time experience of these patients."

5. The Antitype is erratically un-

stable. He is subject to distraction in an unpredictable fashion.

6. The general attitudes, as well as the more complex behavior patterns of the S-type (which as we have learned includes the whole of Jewry as well as a large percentage of German Aryans) are afflicted with the following *biologically* deep-seated tendencies:

- a. Mockery and petty criticism.
- b. An unconscious tendency to caricatural misrepresentation.
- c. Artistic tendencies and theatrical abilities aimed at the schematisation of events and the ridiculing of their fellow men. Their art is expressionistic.
- d. Instability of the self and the tendency to live in various roles. They are not socially inclined. The S<sub>2</sub>-type possesses a secondary social spirit, based on pure rational grounds.
- e. Religion. The religion of the Antitype is polytheistic, demoniacal, fetishistic, never really monotheistic. Among the extreme type i.e., the S<sub>2</sub>, we find dogmatism, and a religion which is reduced to methods of life. The former is a purely theoretical dogmatic system, the latter a code of life and even economics. Both are not religion in the genuine sense.
- f. Social Behavior. The lytic, i.e., the extreme S-type, is anti-social. Among the young of this type, there is never a true friend nor a good playmate. Disintegration breaks down the whole. The disintegrating type cannot incorporate himself into the whole of the community.
- g. Diminished virility. The lytic type is always of reduced virility, he acts feminine. That is why the S-type is also the antitype (unfit) for the army. Among males it is definitely due to the mixture of race, and to tuberculosis. Pure rational thinking and action, rigidity in purposeful behavior may simulate masculinity. But upon deeper scrutiny one discovers the femininity and the weakness of such individuals.

Space does not permit me to list all the indictments presented against a large number of the German people and against Jewry as a whole. We shall take the two indictments which we suspect may easily overwhelm many a psychologically un-

trained individual. These two points are: the testing of intelligence, and vocational selection.

In many a group of our society the problem of intelligence testing represents a keg of dynamite. I have no intention to present here any apologies for this branch of psychology. The accusation brought forward by Jaensch is this: The intelligence tests are constructed by individuals of the Antitype, Jews and non-Jews, in such a manner that the Antitype when tested excels the Nordic J-type in test performance. This unconsciously, as well as intentionally, has led to a selection for scholastic and industrial, political and artistic, leadership of Jews, and *Jew-like* S-type individuals. This accusation is thrown directly at the famous German-Jewish psychologist Stern and his many co-workers, Jews and Gentiles alike, and spreads over the whole legion of authors and users of mental tests all over the world.

A similar indictment is thrown at vocational selection, and industrial psychology in general. The tests, according to Jaensch, are devised by authors belonging to the antitype, and favor the selection of antitypic individuals. The emphasis in industrial testing upon quick adaptability and ability to learn quickly favors the anti-type, since he, due to his biological instability, shows greater readiness to shift attention, and to modify his behavior. This tendency toward modifiability makes him also a better and quicker learner. But these types, according to Jaensch, are also the disintegrators of culture and society; the penetration into industry of these "possibly racial hybrids, latent carriers of tuberculosis, and offsprings of the large cities," together with the undeserved rejection of the J-type on account of his poorer test performance, has caused "great damage" to German industrial life.

If we consider that most American school systems, many courts, numerous industries, and civil service commissions,

and possibly the army, are using psychological tests, often very similar in principle to those used in pre-Hitler Germany, i.e. tests built on the work of Galton, Cattell, Binet, Stern, Terman, and Thorndike, we may conceive the breadth of the indictment, and its possible impact if used by a malicious demagogue.

### Conclusions

Using a set of results of possibly *bona fide* psychological laboratory experiments, a presumably reputable scientist builds a superstructure of inferences to prove:

(1) That the Jews as a race, as well as a large number of Germans, are biologically unfit for a life compatible with the Destiny of the German people.

(2) That German Culture for the last three centuries has been polluted by population groups who developed an irreparable biological inferiority due to heterogeneous mixtures of races (not exclusively with Jews), which facilitates the spread of tuberculosis and schizophrenia.

(3) That these defects did not impair, but rather sharpened, the peculiar intelligence of the members of these groups, whom he finds justified in branding the antitype. Moreover, because of their organic instability of ideals and general adaptability, persons of the antitype have achieved political, economic, and scientific leadership.

(4) That the Jews were not the cause of the appearance of such an antitype, but rather that the gradual development of an antitype structure and mentality among the German tribes has led to the ready acceptance of the Jews as equals, which in turn led to the gradual fall of the German people under the leadership of the Jews and Jew-like antitypes of Nordic origin.

(5) That German philosophy was, so to speak, talmudized and that German universities have fostered the antitype mode of thinking in all fields of learning. The great success of the theory of relativity is fundamentally a product

of such a mode of thinking and is characteristic of the disintegrating type.

(6) That there is little chance to change the S-type into an integrated J-type. There is possibly some hope for the young with mild S-tendencies to be fitted into a J-like mode of behavior. But in general the S-type, that is, the Jewish people as a whole, or any S-type found in admittedly large numbers among the Aryans, "at least in the German Fatherland," must be removed from German public and economic life. For this purpose all means are justified even the "borrowing" of *undesirable and cruel methods from the Antitype*.

We repeat our thesis postulated at the beginning of this article: the specific aspects of Nazi anti-Semitism lay in the definite design toward seizure of national and possibly world power by an armed clique which possesses no other positive economic or social program than the subversion of science, art, and religion and the brow-beating into submission of capital, labor and farmfolk alike.

To take lightly the thousands of pages of *Die Zeitschrift fuer Angewandte Psychologie*, for the period 1934-40, when it was dominated by Jaensch and the Marburg school in general, is to repeat the irreparable error of those who merely frowned at the Protocols of Zion, some forty years ago and at Hitler's "Mein Kampf," when it first appeared.

What to do about it could probably be best decided by a committee of psychologists, anthropologists, and specialists in propaganda.

But we should never forget, that by having lent to the Fascist-Nazi movement the cloak of scientific respectability, Jaensch and his followers have created a powerful tool of popular confusion, a weapon of murderous possibilities in the hands of pseudoscientists and political charlatans in times of national crisis and stress.

# Song Without Tears

By BEVERLY FRANKEL FIELDS

WHILE SHE SANG the child was quiet within her, as if it listened, as if it could not press against her heart until the last phrase of the song had curved away into silence. The gentle words of the poem were familiar as she sang them, simple and inevitable as the sentiment, and when she reached the climax, hushed and delicate, the tenderness welled up so strong inside her that the last notes of her song trembled like rain . . . "*Doch wenn du sprichst, 'Ich liebe dich,' so muss ich weinen bitterlich . . .*"

"How can you sing those German songs?" someone had asked her just the other day. "The sound of that damnable language makes my blood boil! You could at least sing them in English."

"Why should I sing them in English?" she had said. "They were written to be sung in German; they are perfect in German."

"But it's the language those devils speak every day! And you—a Jewess—and about to bring a Jewish baby into the world—"

Quickly and without thought, she had put a hand under her heart as if to soothe the wild-sweet tremor of her child.

"The language of these songs," she had said quietly, "is not the language of the German Reich. And for my child—I hope he lives to love their poetry as much as I do."

The other had shrugged and turned away in something like anger. . . . What was the use of trying to make these people understand? Their lives were small and bounded by a thousand clichés. Peo-

ple devoid of sensibility, unused to subtleties of experience, made completely bestial by the wild hatred of the war.

She picked up the small photograph of her husband, straight dark brows and clear eyes given strange accent by the line of the overseas cap. Suddenly she felt an enormous need for him. She remembered the letter she had received that morning. She sat down at her desk and began to write:

" . . . The music is a great comfort to me now I am alone—not alone, just apart from you, for the child is a real presence, and moves with more energy every day. . . . I can still sing a little. . . . One of the most saddening things about this war, or any war, I suppose, is what it does to people's spirits and perspectives. It makes them forget the lasting values in favor of temporary hatreds. I haven't heard a German song on the air for so long—and even Sara blew up at me the other day for not singing Schumann in English! I used to think that men like you, my darling, were not meant to be fighting in this war, but I have changed my mind and I think now I am glad you are in it, and I hope there are many more like you. Think what a victory can be achieved by people who know what they are fighting and what they are not fighting—who know that the enemy is not Schumann, or Brahms, or Rilke, or Heine, but only the dry and twisted hands that have thrown them into the great bonfire.

"And as long as you and I have this love together, dearest, nothing can hurt us, and nothing can hurt our child as long as it lives and grows in the safe soil of

what we know to be good and beautiful. And nobody in the world knows what it means to us to have this child growing from ourselves, our own child, a wonderful miracle private to ourselves and unshared by all the gross, the casual, the unmeaning, the ignorant, the sordid and prolific breeders of their own kind. We have nothing in common with them except the barely physical, and even that is made mutable by the spirit, the mind, so that even the physical is something special to ourselves. Because we love, and because we examine.

"And Darling, after this thing has been fought and won, and after this cleavage between the child and me, a new marriage between us. Safe together again, and whole together again. And life for the child, no casual growth among the haphazard tangle of underbrush, but planned like a garden, spacious life with

large windows to let in the wide sky and all the music.

"All this, if they will let us live and not pin a badge on us like a great scar. There was something in Sara's tone when she reminded me that I am bringing a Jewish baby into the world—"

She stopped writing and read again the last two sentences. Panic caught her throat for a moment and she felt her eyes wet. Then the wild-sweet tremor of the child within her pulsed under her heart and she raised her head and waited for the tears to clear from her eyes. Firmly she grasped her pen and firmly she crossed out the last two sentences she had written. And firmly she began to write again.

"All this, and more—the extra joy that will come through the child, living and growing to turn back the sea of ignorance and hate from his world . . ."



*Lullaby*

DAVID BEKKER

Honorable Mention, International Water Color Show, Chicago Art Institute, 1942

# Adult Mass Education

By PHILIP L. SEMAN

TOO COMMONLY do promoters of adult education take a defensive position, as if they were recommending to mature people the resumption of childish things. A great number of such educators stress the fact that many have been denied a thorough education in youth, and are, therefore, entitled to an opportunity to make up the deficiency. Besides, numerous educators and educational agencies assume that education belongs to adolescents by right and to the rest only by courtesy. Yet, the great teachers throughout history devoted themselves to the teaching of adults. The disciples of Socrates were as a rule men well-advanced in middle age.

Too many think in terms of education as the prerogative of children and adolescents, who formerly were left to pick up what they could at second hand from gentle, very often ill-trained and inexperienced teachers. Our whole difficulty in adult education is the fact that we have been unmindful of the seriousness of the old theory that the adult mind, experienced in the realities, could accept the truth undiluted. The teacher, therefore, addressed himself to the adult, for it was taken for granted that the truth would then filter down to the adolescent and the child. Herein, we begin to see a vicious circle. The conventional modern theory, by far and large, is that the truth is most easily planted in the receptive minds of the inexperienced, and it is piously hoped that once it is so planted, it will survive and bear fruit in later life. As your writer sees it, it takes more than one theory to contain the whole of wisdom. We do well to take the education of youth seriously,

but so long as we take the education of the adult less seriously, great teachers in the future will find us desert soil.

We are living in a veritable turmoil, and have been for a long time. Our thinking is and has been very much confused. Except for isolated individuals, we do not know where we are going. The philosophical theories of the past seem futile in creating a society for human happiness. As we reflect upon the situation, we cannot but conclude that there must be some fundamental reason that after so many centuries of so-called civilization and progress, we are where we are and what we are, and when I say we, I mean the world at large. We should realize that the intellectual and spiritual instability which characterizes the Axis nations today, and many individuals even in the Allied nations, should not be traced to World War I, but rather to the ignoble peace which reigned in the classrooms of our great halls of learning in both Europe and America for decades before that unfortunate event. May we not be honest in saying that the church and the synagogue at large have had a feeble effect upon those whom they served, and therefore, they, too, have acted as a contributory force.

Until such a realization takes root—yes, deep root—we can look forward with only slight hope that the world will ever return to normalcy. American and European scholarship will remain bankrupt as long as they fail to recognize the fact that our present mode of disorganized and fruitless thinking, instead of being a legacy of the battlefield is in reality the inevitable consequence of generations that

did violence to human thought. Under these tragic circumstances, it will be well nigh impossible to restore a sense of beauty to human life, or even render first aid to the economic paralysis that has clogged up the every-day machinery of society for these past several decades.

Had our teachers, our spiritual leaders and institutions of learning at large, fought for constructive ethical thinking, and really taught that the object of education is to aid us to live with our fellow-men in love and understanding, we would not be in the deplorable muddle in which we find ourselves today. Had these same agencies in any way concerned themselves with some legitimate association of constructive ideas and ideals, we would not be facing now what appears to be the greatest of all wars in the history of mankind, and which if the United Nations and America particularly, do not by Herculean sacrifice win, may destroy what remains of civilization.

Robert Briffault, the great anthropologist, and the author of the monumental work, "Mothers," in one of his latest contributions, tells us that what goes by the name of education consists unfortunately of little else than the inculcation of traditional prejudices. Any obstacle placed in the way of performing this task gives rise to outbursts of moral indignation on the part of those who defend a pretended liberty of opinion and freedom of thinking. So paramount is the inculcation of prejudices accounted that it is quite impossible to put a stop to it. One of the arguments of those who favor this kind of indoctrination is that unless those prejudices are inculcated at the earliest possible opportunity in the pliable minds of children, any effort to implant them later would have no chance of being successful. The world can be preserved safely for traditional prejudices only if these are inculcated in the minds of children in the first few years of life. The psychological understanding displayed in that view is indeed sound. In the handing down of

prejudices, resting on the authority of traditions and not on valid grounds, the first few years of life count for more than all of the subsequent years. It is for that reason, among others, that it is so important for adult education that those who have the opportunity of directing the thinking of youth implant in their consciences a soundness of purpose and a positive attitude toward life.

Mr. Briffault emphasizes the truth of the other type of youth guidance by reciting an investigation recently made by research workers at Columbia University by means of tabulated questionnaires. The results of this inquiry conducted among school children, who had received "proper religious and other instruction" was that the fierceness of their traditional prejudices exceeded in violence those displayed by any adult fanatic.

Other traditional prejudices, such as those which serve to support nationalism, are instilled with the same care from the earliest years. English children of the same age as the American children examined, were convinced that all Frenchmen subsisted on a diet of frogs and snails, and that all American men were in the habit when sitting at dinner, of placing their feet on the tablecloth. These may be extreme and exaggerated instances, but they are of the same kind as the prejudices with which the whole education of human beings is normally colored. As children grow up, the prejudices which are artificially introduced during the school years tend to become softened, yet they leave their imprint upon the adult mind. Although early education is rightly deemed indispensable in order that traditional knowledge may be imparted at all, the efforts devoted to cultivating and maintaining them, unfortunately, are never completely related. All channels of information and expression are subject to a watchful and exacting censorship. This is automatically exercised over literature, the press, the theater and the radio, so that criticism of views

out of harmony with an attitude of veneration of existing institutions, such as the state, nationalism, capitalism, religion, sexual morals, etc. are maintained within safe limits. In other words, traditional prejudices are preserved at the price of unceasing vigilance.

Can we not, therefore, come to the conclusion that had we exercised any insight into the problem, and a little perception, that perhaps there never would have been this cosmic convulsion that we are experiencing, nor would we now be facing probably a more serious convulsion? Instead, like the rest of preoccupied mankind in the past, we were satisfied to trail along in the current of events.

Someone has said that whatever the representative thinkers of a period believed, its productions, art and literature, would reflect their philosophic convictions—a fact clear to anthropologists, who realized that the growth of the intellect is strictly analogous in all individuals, without regard to race or geography, because the method and degree of the mind's development is subject to and governed by psychological laws that no man can escape.

Professor Whitehead in his introduction to Dean Dunham's book on "Business Adrift," written many years ago, tells us that somehow tradition has lost its force. It is the business of students and practical men to recreate and re-enact a vision of the world, conservative and radical, including those elements of reverence and order without which society lapses into riot, a vision penetrated through and through with unflinching reality. The epochs for which, within the limits of their development, this vision has been wide-spread, are epochs ineffable in the memory of mankind. Dean Dunham goes on to relate that there is no choice before us: Either we must succeed in providing a rational coordination of impulses and thoughts, or for centuries civilization will sink into a mere welter of minor excitements. We must produce a great age or

see the collapse of the upward striving of our race. We are indeed in need of a new kind of a philosophy. I do not mean the kind of a philosophy that theorizes but rather a philosophy that is livable, workable, and practically possible. The whole world needs some system of thought that will be justifiable and commendable to all. All civilization is dehumanized today, and this prevents any solution of vital problems in the adult lives of each and everyone of us. If we are courageously to meet and successfully to overcome the dangers with which modern civilization is threatened, we will have to follow the suggestion of one of our own great philosophers, namely, that we need more of the right kind of mind than we have ever used before. We must tap our additional resources, for the present situation unquestionably indicates that we have by no means exhausted them.

Only a re-evaluation and a re-interpretation of ideas is capable of creating and preserving for mankind a balanced rhythm of understanding. Only through this type of understanding can we make permanent without risk of accident all that is consistent in human thought or in human thinking, disengaged from all that is kept pernicious and accidental. Only by such a method, a method acceptable on a large scale to all institutions of learning and all other agencies that have any influence whatsoever upon human emotions and human relationships will we be able to sweep the man of knowledge clean for all time from the falsehoods of the philosophical extremes which have so corrupted and despoiled the fine fabric of civilization.

John Dewey in his thinking tells us that "scholarship and culture" make for snobbishness, but that fellowship and occupation make for democracy. This truth is still better emphasized and made more lucid by L. P. Jacks in his "The Education of the Whole Man." All of this leads us to the realization that in a democracy such as ours, the problem of education

and the very meaning of the term are different from what they have been in other countries in the past. The principle that all men have been created equal has always meant that all men are created with the same rights to enjoy whatever tends to make life more beautiful, fuller, and liveable. This principle, which has come down to us through the ages, applies also to the institution of education, which has worked many changes in life and which now must lead into new channels of usefulness.

The old aristocratic ideal, when education was "of necessity" confined to the upper classes, to the clergy, and to the religious orders, when there were universities and colleges for adults, but no schools for the young, had to give way to the new order, and the education of the young became the greatest concern of our educators. In this process, the older ideal—education for the adult—was comparatively neglected, and for a long time received no attention from the nation's educators. This was perhaps inevitable, since it is difficult to establish the institutions demanded by a new order without somehow relegating the institutions of the old order into the background.

The situation is quite different now that the public schools, high schools, city colleges, and state universities, supported through public taxation, are unquestionably recognized by all as the corner stones of a true democracy and are firmly established throughout our land. It is our duty to take up anew the question of the neglected adult, and to rebuild the structure of adult education, which has fallen into a bad state of repair. The question may arise: "Is this not the special concern of our endowed and state universities? Are they not solving the problem of adult education?" An analysis of the situation will reveal that the universities are solving only a small part of the general problem, and the greater part of it is waiting for other institutions to take up the cause. The endowed universities are to a great

extent rich men's institutions, and the cost of a year's residence, not to speak of the four years' course, is well beyond the modest means of the average citizen. The state universities, though there is no tuition, still require a young man or woman to leave home, in most cases, and to live in the university town or city. This is a sacrifice that most people cannot make. When we think of the adult man or woman with a job, or a family and home to take care of, the universities are out of the question. They cannot solve the problem of adult education.

At the annual meeting of the Buffalo Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa, held a few years ago, the librarian of the University of Michigan, stated that a favorite form of mild sport prevailing in academic circles at the present moment is to pose to unwary mortals the question: What is adult education? No definition is likely to be offered to which an instant objection cannot be opposed. Exception can be and is taken both as to statements of what adult education is, and to attempts to define it by example. There is no agreement in practice or in precept among either proponents of adult education or those academic gentlemen who love the seat of the scornful and delight in the confusion of enthusiasts and uplifters.

The constantly decreasing hours of work during the past decade or two are the results of very wise legislation in some instances, and of the agency of collective bargaining in the other. There has thus been created a problem of increased leisure. We were beginning to see what this increased leisure really means prior to the great upheaval of a year ago. Some men and women, who have had this leisure, are beginning to grope toward a way of improving themselves and to use it fittingly. Still others are using it to increase their chances for promotion and a better livelihood. Out of both desires has grown the urge for self-improvement, for adult education. Whatever the motive, whatever the cause, that urge is present

in vast, almost alarming numbers of our American folk. It is not likely that such an aim and such an effort remain hidden from busy people for very long.

It appears, therefore, that other agencies besides colleges, correspondence schools, and the great universities, are needed; workingmen's clubs, community centers, and workers' education institutes, a revamped program of adult education, as conducted by the Federal Government through its Adult Education Programs, wider use of the school plant during the evenings—all of these can be developed into a thoroughly reorganized adult education program, and in the latter instance, certainly through public taxation. These agencies must take up the cause of this great problem and organize their programs on the basis of the needs of the communities they are serving: adult education programs that are truly pledged to the education of the adult and to such imparting of knowledge to him that it may place him in intelligent relationship to the outside world in its physical, economic, and cultural aspects; a program that will endeavor to develop in the adult a taste for science, literature, and the arts, and above all, to stimulate in him a desire for the best and the noblest in the human personality; what is needed is a program that will not be directed to reproduce the college student, but one that will be adapted to serve those adult men and women who spend their days in the shop, office, and factory, and who, nevertheless, feel a serious need for intellectual study, in order that they may understand the changing world in which they live, and in order, too, that they may be able to meet the challenge of this changing world—it must be a program, however, that will make no less an appeal to men and women who have been students of schools of higher learning, for on the contrary, such persons feel even more strongly than others the necessity for sustaining their cultural backgrounds, for widening their horizons and for

strengthening their sense of human values.

The courses included in such programs should be calculated to appeal to just such persons. There are many areas of knowledge about which university students know nothing, or have not had the opportunity of exploring while at college, but which they may feel today represents a definite need. The programs should be committed to the fundamental principle—the education of the adult—to make the adult open-minded, to enable him to appreciate human values wherever he finds them, to see the processes of the outside world as integral phases of his own being, and the psychic processes in him as manifestations of common mental phenomena in the human personality. This should be the motivation and the function of adult education in social change. With this high end in view, adult education must of necessity reject any and all doctrines which might involve it in any social and political philosophy to the exclusion of all others, and of course, abjures any purpose of propaganda whatsoever. It must leave the question of attachment to political and social philosophies entirely to the individual. For such a procedure we need great teachers, teachers who have taught in such institutions as the People's Institute of New York, established by the philosopher of adult education, Charles Sprague Smith, or with institutions as the New School for Social Research, teachers who agree generally that the problem of teaching adults is a very trying one, though stimulating to the highest degree.

Teachers cannot long hold an audience of adults unless they are prepared to go straight to the fundamentals. Great economists say that it is utterly hopeless for anyone to try to understand the reasons for our present situation, unless he has had the opportunity of studying the fundamentals of economic theory. What the individual needs to understand things and to develop a constructive program is

facts and more facts and still more facts.

A few years ago, the University of Chicago, through an extremely interesting experiment in its Department of Political Science and Government, directed about a half-dozen of its professors to work out a curriculum and a method of presentation of such a curriculum to the adults who might be interested in thinking through the present economic world struggle. Their experience is indicative of what happens when a group of adults gather, adults who may not have had all of the requirements of formal education, but who have had in place of such formal education, the education that the school of life offers; by presenting a program of activity which is alive, which is easily understood, and which is above all, within the experience of the individual, great interest is aroused, and much can be expected.

A very interesting observation was made by the late Dr. John H. Finley, a distinguished American educator. He stated that he looked forward to the day when we would have a system of adult education, which would reach every man and woman (this was indeed mass education), just as we are now making an effort to reach the child. I doubt very much whether Dr. Finley meant only the illiterate adult or the foreigner in our midst, or those who have had very little formal education in their youth. He undoubtedly meant all adults, yes, even college graduates and the holders of advanced degrees, including our professors, for heaven knows they need it as well. Those who are leading the great adult education movement conceive of education as something that is never finished, something that is an ever-moving process throughout life.

Those who are charged with the responsibility of dispensing taxes for educational purposes, with the rarest exceptions, look upon their task as one almost exclusively devoted to the education of children, never realizing that unless the

child, after he is grown to manhood, is given an opportunity to continue forming intelligent opinions, the country as a whole would be harrassed by a huge army of grown-ups, who are unfit to govern themselves, or to be governed.

The Federal Government recognized this fact a number of years ago, and spent millions of dollars in the interest of adult education. Not so long ago, a member of the staff of the office of the Commissioner of Education of the United States stated that hundreds of millions of dollars were spent in one year for this purpose, and many hundreds of thousands of adults, men and women, were organized in study groups in practically every city and town in the United States, that literally hundreds of subjects were taught, and that this adult group, it was hoped, would take a live and active interest in these pursuits, and that this might be the beginning of a great era in adult education, financed by the Federal Government. Unfortunately, because of the need for utilizing every dollar of federal taxes for the prosecution of World War II much of this program has been given up for the duration.

Over forty years ago, Professor Thomas Davidson, a professor in Scotch and American Universities, toward the end of his life until his death in 1900, lectured on social and historical science in a large neighborhood house on the East Side of New York, devoting himself to the teaching of wage earners. He was described in an obituary in the "London Times" as one of the twelve most learned men of his time; William James dubbed him the "Knight Errant" of intellectual life the world over. He was one of those rare and blessed spirits that appear now and again, at rare intervals, to shed on us the light and the warmth of their glowing personalities, to imbue us with their love of learning and idealism, and warm us with their love of the greatest gifts to man—the gifts of thought and freedom. One of the last of the libertarians and individualists, he had given up teaching in a St.

Louis College to become a missionary of education to the world, particularly to the working masses. "No one who has ever taught a class of intelligent bread-winners," he said, "will ever return to academic teaching, for it is just because our present colleges are so unsatisfactory, so unsuited to the body of American people, that colleges of a new sort, bread-winners' colleges, are necessary."

The writer was privileged to be counted among his early pupils. William James thought of recommending him for the professorship of Greek philosophy and literature at Harvard, but how could one, who despised the colleges with their formalism, their medievalism, and lack of spontaneity and freedom, and one to whom money, position, fashion, fame, and other vulgar ideals of the tribe held no interest whatsoever, accept a position of that type? Thus, the offer was not made, and Professor Davidson continued to lecture to the people, to write books and magazine articles in their interests. In addition he taught his unique summer school of cultural science at Glenmore in the Adirondacks. People thirsty for knowledge, flocked there from all over the country. He made occasional trips to Europe and founded the Fellowship of New Life in London, out of which grew the Fabian Society, which counted among its members George Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, James Ramsay MacDonald, and other celebrities. He left the organization when it abjured individualism for socialism, which to him represented but a new form of slavery for man's independent spirit.

Some time in 1899, Professor Davidson delivered a lecture before the People's Institute, meeting at The Educational Alliance on the East Side of New York, to an audience composed mostly of wage-earners, and some college students. The writer was in attendance, as a young college student, then working his way through school. I recall very distinctly that a youth in the audience, after one of Professor Davidson's lectures, asked

how a man busy at his work all day could manage to receive an education. Dr. Davidson recognized the innuendo in the question, and thereupon immediately offered his services to any group which would desire to acquire an education. At an appointed time and place, sixty-five students appeared. The number soon grew to 150, and a single course broadened out to eight courses, which continued unfortunately for two years only, because of Dr. Davidson's untimely death in 1900. What a powerful effect his teaching and his personality exerted on the youth of the East Side of New York! Making their acquaintance in the formative period of their lives, at the very time when man is as clay in the hands of the potter, he imbued them with a thirst for knowledge and with a thirst for things spiritual and ideal. He gave them an outlook on life and creation that partook of the loftiest and noblest thoughts of all time. "The God of the future," he said, "the just God, gives to each one precisely what with his own efforts he has righteously won, neither more nor less. The man who asks for more is a miserable dependent, a sycophant, and a beggar. The man who is content with less is a fool."

One of his pupils, writing of his experience in later years, said: "He talked like a God, but didn't know it." Another testified that "out of the scattered knowledge within me, you have made a cosmos." Another wrote, after Dr. Davidson's death: "We seldom get together, because in our common memory our shame overcomes us, and we look down and bite our fingers. We are haunted by the spiritual awakening we once had that reminds us that we have been so busy with the petty things that we have not had time to do great things in the world." So wrote and so spoke many others of his pupils.

After Dr. Davidson's death at the age of sixty, his many students, who had sat at his feet during those two eventful years, banded together and formed the Thomas Davidson Society, a Breadwin-

ners' College, for the continuation of their studies and for the pursuit of culture generally in the spirit of their great departed master. The spirit of the great philosopher and libertarian hovered about the gathering. His presence was felt and continued to animate them with its beneficent influence. The Breadwinners continued to function for many years before it was disbanded by the inexorable forces of life that register their continual changes. The young boys and girls of yesterday are the men and women of today, soldiers in the ranks of life, fighting its many battles over many and scattered battlefields, but many a man who has since made his shining mark in life will readily tell you, as does the writer, that he owes such success, as he has achieved, to the undying inspiration that he received in the days of his youth from this matchless leader and teacher of men.

The writer, too, recalls that when the Breadwinners' College was organized, one of the first questions asked by those in charge was: "How shall we go about building a program for our institution?" They had a splendid opportunity of observing the kind of program that had been built up by colleges and universities, by consulting the prospectuses and catalogues, where courses were listed year after year, some required, some elective. They scanned these courses over carefully. They had a great deal of experience in the requirements of college entrance, but they could not run their college in the same manner. They said: "We have to put some of the human element in this work of ours. We have to bear in mind the spirit of our teacher, Thomas Davidson." So, they asked the individuals who came to the center over a period of weeks, what they should like to have prepared for them in the form of a program. They decided then that they would build their program accordingly.

This brings the writer to the honesty that was expressed about fifteen years

ago in Swarthmore College at the second annual meeting of the Association for Adult Education, where leading educators of America gathered for a common purpose—adult education for the masses. The writer recalls that occasion very well. After considerable discussion, President Neilson, then of Smith College, who was also one of Professor Davidson's followers, asked to be heard. The writer can still hear him say: "After two days of discussion, I believe we ought to think in terms of adult education, as far as techniques are concerned at least, as a new procedure. We must, therefore, begin to study it in that light, preparing techniques and tools that will be helpful in this work. We know nothing about it, except its name—adult education. We have a feeling that there is a need for it. We know that it will be of considerable help in developing a better race of people. We know nothing of its techniques. Let us begin, therefore, by developing the primary techniques of adult education." This was an honest expression on the part of a great educator.

Following this experience, John Dewey appeared before some forty educators. There were, among them, the President of the University of Chicago, outstanding educators from the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, and others in the field of education. Professor Dewey on this occasion addressed the Education Club of Chicago, and after some discussion, the writer recalls Dewey remarking in his simple, inimitable fashion: "I am much concerned about the fact that through the centuries we have been getting nowhere in education. I want to think in these terms—perhaps we have been educating the wrong people.

It would be interesting at this point to dwell on Professor Arthur Compton's statement, denouncing as the world's greatest lie, the oft-repeated statement that human nature does not change. This outstanding American physicist stated that twenty thousand years ago the fam-

ily was the social unit; today the world is the social unit.

At the Harvard tercentenary, President Conant proposed a supreme court of learning to achieve the desired control of science for beneficent uses only. The American Association for the Advancement of Science has also discussed this matter.

There must be something desperately the matter with our educational system when those whom we accept as the best minds in our greatest democracies seek refuge and salvation in some form of oligarchical control. The world is in desperate need of adult enlightenment. Adults obviously cannot get it out of more schooling carried forward into adult life. It needs something different from impartation and acquisition of knowledge, different from mere educational and vocational training, important as these are for a livelihood.

Adult education is a life-long learning adventure, necessary to every normal being. The learned can pursue it under their own power, but it is not for them to impose it upon the rest of us. There must be found a democratic way, by which we can achieve the light under a form of leadership and guidance which does not violate the dignity of the spirit of the free human adult. While inventions, adjustments, and techniques in infinite variety will have to be developed, we have already in the graduate-school seminar a general form, which can be developed and adapted to adult educational needs in any level of intellectual capacity or achievement. Socrates did it in Athens. Wesley did it in the mining and mill centers of England. In our own time, it has been done, as indicated previously in this discussion but unfortunately, not too frequently.

In the all-comprehensive social adult area of life, the true function of education is the overcoming of ignorance, the freeing of the human spirit from its limitations,

the achievement of greater understanding, and a greater capacity for appreciation of those concerns in the life of the race which distinguish man from the brute, and in the advancement of the welfare of man. The goal is a truly satisfying way of life.

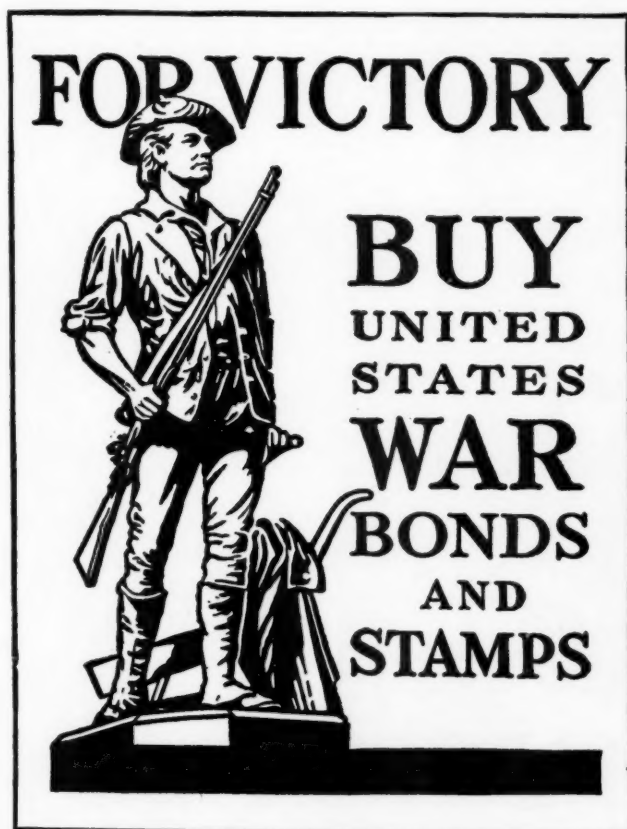
There are two well-defined ways of putting a program of adult education, or mass education, into operation. The first is the haphazard and occasional method that functions through talks, lectures, and celebrations, always to a heterogeneous public that comes when it wishes, and stays away when it chooses. By this method, it is possible to achieve some very desirable ends, namely, the development of public-mindedness, a neighborhood spirit, and the dissemination of a measure of knowledge and education. The chief factor, however, the factor of continuity is lacking, and because of this, the educational results are not very satisfactory. The second method, which we may call formal informal education has most of the benefits of the informal method, but in addition, has the value of continuity and application to a single subject, at the time which is best calculated to achieve the desired educational results. This method functions through classes, groups, courses, or any other formation that has in it the element of a steady continuity and permits of a definite identification of the type of work carried on in behalf of these outlets.

Finally, our own President has really given us a credo toward which to work through adult education, which will bring to mankind the four great freedoms—freedom of speech and expression, freedom to worship God as one wishes, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. These four freedoms which we hope to achieve through the people's revolution will culminate only if we think in terms of the four duties which all of us now have to perform, and which have been splendidly emphasized by the Vice-Presi-

dent of the United States, Henry A. Wallace: The duty to produce to the limit, the duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the line of battle; the duty to fight with all that is in us; the duty to build a peace that will be just, charitable, and enduring; the fourth duty is that which inspires the other three.

If the United Nations are victorious, as

they must and will be, we will have a splendid opportunity to carry out the basic principles of adult education, which will have as its fruition the kind of a world we wish to leave to those who follow after us, a world we shall not be ashamed of, and not the world which those who have come before us have left us as our heritage.





*Refugees*

DAVID BEKKER

*Exhibited at International Water Color Show, Chicago Art Institute, 1942*

# Spinoza and Shelley

By CARL GRABO

## I.

THE INFLUENCE of one writer on another is at best a difficult matter to assess, for their ideas may have a common ancestry and the forms which both employ may have been used by many predecessors. Especially difficult is it to determine influences when there is no marked similarity of language and the resemblances are those of points of view. If one writer is a philosopher, like Spinoza, and the other a philosophical poet, like Shelley, the language which they employ, and their methods and forms of communication, will, moreover, be widely different however great their similarities in points of view in underlying metaphysics, and in social philosophy. At best, therefore, the comparison of Spinoza with Shelley is speculative. There are some notable resemblances. In character they have much in common. In their views of man, God, nature, and civil society there are similarities, but also striking dissimilarities.

Happily for our purpose, there are definite evidences of Shelley's interest in Spinoza and of his indebtedness to Spinoza's thought. The allusions to Spinoza in Shelley's letters and evidence of his interest as revealed by book orders and in intermittent work upon a translation of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* cover pretty completely Shelley's entire creative life. The first allusion is in a letter of January, 1811; the last, from a recollection of Trelawny's, is of 1822, the year of Shelley's death. Spinoza thus shares with Godwin and Plato the first place among the philosophers whom Shelley valued from first to last and who were

not outgrown and put aside, if indeed Godwin, despite his early great influence, can be credited with such enduring importance.

In December, 1812, Spinoza's works are among those which Shelley asks his bookdealer to secure for him, along with those of Kant and many others. A short time later he specifies the posthumous works and the theological-political tract as sufficient for his needs. It is this latter, of all Spinoza's works, which seemingly most interested him, for reasons which will appear. At various times he was engaged in its translation. In 1819, 1820, and 1821, we learn that he applied himself to the task, which seemingly was never completed. Much more was done, however, than has survived, unless some part exists still in manuscript. The fragments recovered, as printed by H. Buxton Forman, comprise no more than half a dozen paragraphs *On Prophecy*. I cannot think that these particular passages possessed for Shelley an exceptional appeal. Their survival at the expense of other and likelier passages must be attributed to mere chance.

## II.

The critic inexperienced in formal philosophy approaches even a sketchy exposition of the metaphysics of Spinoza with a justifiable diffidence. For it seems that the philosophers themselves are by no means at one in interpreting him. He has been called atheist, naturalist, and pantheist. To some religionists he is a "heretic," as he was thought to be in his own day by both Christians and Jews; and by others he has been called "God-intoxicated."

One has perhaps to be trained in theology to appreciate these various distinctions in definition. To those religionists wedded to exact adherence to traditional doctrines of whatever church, Christian or Jewish, he was a dangerous and disruptive thinker. Whereas to those less addicted to theology and more concerned with ethics and the emotional aspects of religion he has seemed a virtuous and divinely inspired thinker. Yet it is necessary for purposes of comparison with Shelley to examine a few of his basic ideas. With some of these, Shelleyan ideas have an affinity. On yet other points, Shelley, as it seems to me, takes a position diametrically opposed.

It is here that the difficulty intimated at the outset obtrudes itself. Shelley's philosophical ideas resemble Spinoza's in some particulars. But it may very well be that the resemblance is due to their common ancestry rather than to any clear influence of Spinoza upon Shelley. Caird, for example, thinks that Spinoza owes something to earlier Jewish philosophers, such as Maimonides; to Giordano Bruno, and to the mystical doctrines of the Kabbala, which, in turn, derive in devious ways from Neo-Platonism. And with Platonism and Neo-Platonism we know Shelley had direct contact. What is Platonic or Neo-Platonic, therefore, both in Spinoza and Shelley, is probably not due to Spinoza's influence upon Shelley, but to kindred influences on both. Nevertheless, it is likely enough that an early reading of Spinoza was one of the ways whereby Shelley was led to the study of Platonism and Neo-Platonism, whose influences are so apparent in his maturer work.

In a sense both Spinoza and Plotinus, to instance one of the most notable Neo-Platonists, are pantheists. To Plotinus, the visible material universe is the embodiment of the ideas which exist in the world of reality, that is in the intelligence of the One, who is God. God is existent in everything, to be sure, but earth and its

creatures are at a far remove from the center of being. We exist, so to speak, at the periphery of its influence. Its light and warmth are dim and faint to us and it is the object of our existence to rise in an ascending scale of being until we are at last at the center, sharing to the full the creative love. There is an implication here of relative imperfection. Earth-born existence is but a shadow of the Divine.

To Spinoza all is God, all is perfection; idea and matter are one; God is both thought and *extension*: that is, the visible universe is all one infinite and perfect being, with no greater or less. God is wholly immanent, and if to us some things are less good than others, if we experience what we call pain and evil, the fault lies in the imperfection of our understanding. It is the objective of our lives to advance in knowledge, to train our reason. We first apprehend the phenomena of this sense-known universe, whose various aspects are the *modes* of God's being. By the study of science we pass from the knowledge of particulars to an understanding of general laws which govern these particulars. And from the knowledge of general laws we ultimately proceed to that intuitive knowledge, which is the thought of God. When we attain this we know perfect tranquillity and joy. We are forever then a part of the Divine: are facets, so to speak, of the mind of God.

Neo-Platonism, too, magnifies intuition above the common understanding, the lower reasoning processes. The highest reason knows without effort, without consciously proceeding step by step to its goal. In this belief, the concept of Spinoza and that of Neo-Platonism seem to be much the same. But Neo-Platonism stresses the unreality of our earth-born existence. As in the Oriental philosophies, all is *Maya*, illusion, and we must passionately desire to escape to the higher, the divine world of reality. To Spinoza this earth-world is no less truly the real

world than that in which we attain identity with God. It is true that in our feeble human way we grasp only a part of the divine reality, and it is our need and our desire to grasp more. But the little we do understand is no less divine than the more. All is the being of God, Who is infinite, perfect, and manifests Himself in infinite ways or, as Spinoza calls them, *modes*.

Shelley was by nature sympathetic with such a mind as Spinoza's. He was himself deeply interested and widely read in philosophy and science. Poetry he thought akin to philosophy, and admired most those poets—Lucretius and Dante—who were most philosophical. His own most profound verse is philosophical in character and filled with allusions of a scientific import. There was thus an affinity of minds, a similar breadth of interest in Spinoza and Shelley, together with a moral fervor and passion for human liberty which were perhaps the closest bond between them. But before proceeding to this, the most important aspect of the comparison, it is desirable to stress two points wherein Shelley's philosophy, as he perfected it, differs fundamentally from Spinoza's. He does not, I believe, see eye to eye with Spinoza on the question of freedom of the moral will, nor on the nature of evil and its place in the scheme of things.

This is how Spinoza states the thesis which has been the cause of the greatest criticism and dissent among those who, admiring his philosophy in most respects, cannot go all the way with him in his determinism:

The mind is a certain and determinate mode of thought, and therefore it cannot be the free cause of its own actions, or have an absolute faculty of willing or not willing, but must be determined to this or that volition by a cause which is also determined by another cause, and this again by another, and so on *ad infinitum*.

Shelley, the youthful necessitarian, would have accepted this thesis, but he came later to the conclusion, that men were not wholly devoid of freedom of moral

choice, and therefore could shape their own future. To the reformer, and Shelley was a reformer, men must be inspired to improve their lot by seeking an ideal, a better society, and some far-visioned Utopia. Necessarily they must feel that it is within their power, their free choice, to move towards their goal. If they are wholly the victims of destiny wherein is the spur to action?

It is our will

That thus enchains us to permitted ill.  
We might be otherwise; we might be all  
We dream of happy, high, majestic.  
Where is the love, beauty and truth we seek  
But in our mind? And if we were not weak,  
Should we be less in deed than in desire?

... those who try may find  
How strong the chains are which our spirits bind;  
Brittle perchance as straw. We are assured  
Much may be conquered, much may be endured  
Of what degrades and crushes us. We know  
That we have power over ourselves to do  
And suffer—what, we know not till we try;  
But something nobler than to live and die.  
So taught those kings of old philosophy,  
Who reigned before religion made men blind;  
And those who suffer with their suffering kind  
Yet feel this faith religion.

Shelley, it is evident, despite his scientific interests and knowledge, his faith in reason, and his early surrender to the necessitarian philosophy, could not subscribe to Spinoza's doctrine of the will. To Shelley some degree of freedom there must be, so that mankind could aim at a better world and realize in themselves the power to attain it. Nor could he, as did Spinoza, look upon evil as unreal. In the all-perfect universe of Spinoza, the universe which is God, there is neither good nor evil. These are relative terms only, and born of our ignorance. As we advance by means of knowledge and reason, we pass from these mistaken concepts until, at one with God, we know that the universe is perfect and always has been so. Does not Spinoza in his philosophy fall into the common religious evasion, that of an "other-worldliness," and by thinking only of what we ultimately become in the blessed union with God ignore the very real sufferings of

poor humanity? So it would seem. Shelley here again, despite his belief in the ultimate reign of Love and man's identification with the One, cannot shut his eyes to human pain. His poetry is clamorous with the suffering of men, and his passionate desire to aid them. Though he perceives, as a poet, all the beauty of earth, he is aware always of the presence of evil:

How glorious art thou, Earth! and if thou be  
The shadow of some spirit lovelier still,  
Though evil stain its work, and it should be  
Like its creation, weak yet beautiful,  
I could fall down and worship that and thee.

In these lines is posed fairly the point on which turn the difference in the two philosophies of Spinoza and Shelley: To Spinoza God is all perfect, the universe is all perfect; God is infinite and unchanging. The universe of Shelley's conception is one in which Good wrestles with evil. It is essentially an evolving universe. God himself—or the One—is endlessly in process of realization, at war with those forces which thwart the attainment of His ends. It is a conflict in which human effort counts. Shelley, forced to choose as his God either one who is omnipotent but who contains within Him what to human experience is evil, or a God of Love and goodness who, if so, cannot be omnipotent, chose with Plato the God who strives to be, but is not yet, wholly master of the universe. Between Shelley's God and Spinoza's God, though both are Love and Beauty, and though it is the aspiration of men to identify themselves with Him, there is fixed a chasm.

### III.

It was the *Tractatus Theologico Politicus* which Shelley in considerable part translated and which of all Spinoza's works he evidently most valued. The reasons for this are apparent. Spinoza the democrat and lover of political freedom, Spinoza the hater of bigotry and ecclesiasticism, and the defender of free thinking was one after Shelley's own heart.

Spinoza the individualist and the champion of reason is the spiritual ancestor of Shelley. Ideas such as Spinoza's reaped their harvest in the eighteenth century, "the age of reason," and their political consequences are evidenced by the revolutions in America and France. Shelley, whose religious and political thinking was so largely a heritage from the free-thinking democratic reformers such as the Encyclopedists, descends by way of them from Spinoza and other seventeenth century thinkers whose religious and political speculations were to have, a century later, political, moral, and social effects which shook the world and whose end is not yet.

Political freedom derives from religious freedom. It is only the man who has learned to think for himself on religious issues and has made his soul his own who is fit for self-government. Blind surrender to ecclesiastics subdues the believer to obedience to all traditional authority. Tyrants are usually bigots, well aware, for their purposes of subjugation, of the usefulness of superstition, bigotry, and all ecclesiastical traditionalism. Those who rebel against the tyranny of the state have therefore usually been called "atheists," a "smear word" which is still effective with the unthinking. Both Spinoza and Shelley were called atheists and no doubt a trace of this calumny still clings to them. Yet both were intensely religious men.

On these matters Spinoza and Shelley are their own best advocates, for in their eloquent words they set forth unmistakably for those who have ears, the substance and spirit of their teaching. The difficulty is to select from a too great wealth of their material only that sufficient for the immediate purpose. The following brief excerpt from Spinoza on "The Interpretation of Scripture" indicates the importance to him of the exercise of the individual reason:

For as the highest power of Scriptural Interpretation should be nothing but the natural light of reason which is common to all—not any super-

natural light nor any external authority; moreover, such a rule ought not to be so difficult that it can only be applied by very skilful philosophers, but should be adapted to the natural and ordinary faculties and capacities of mankind.

This succinctly defines the spirit of Protestant nonconformity and might have been written by Spinoza's contemporary, the English Quaker, George Fox.

Another and a longer passage must suffice to reveal Spinoza's religious temper, the spirit of tolerance and charity which animated him, and his detestation of bigotry and intolerance:

I have often wondered that persons who make a boast of professing the Christian religion, namely, love, joy, peace, temperance, and charity to all men, should quarrel with such raucous animosity and display daily towards one another such bitter hatred, that this, rather than the virtues they claim, is the readiest criterion of their faith. Matters have long since come to such a pass that one can only pronounce a man Christian, Turk, Jew, or Heathen, by his general appearance and attire, by his frequenting this or that place of worship, or employing the phraseology of a particular sect—as for manner of life, it is in all cases the same. Inquiry into the cause of this anomaly leads me to ascribe unhesitatingly to the fact that the ministries of the Church are regarded by the masses merely as dignities, her offices as posts of emolument—in short, popular religion may be summed up as a respect for ecclesiastics. The spread of this misconception inflamed every worthless fellow with an intense desire to enter holy orders, and thus the love of diffusing "God's" religion degenerated into sordid avarice and ambition. Every church became a theater, where orators, instead of church teachers harangued, caring not to instruct the people, but striving to attract admiration, to bring opponents to public scorn, and to preach only novelties and paradoxes, such as would tickle the ears of their congregations. This state of things necessarily stirred up an amount of controversy, envy, and hatred, which no lapse of time could appease; so that we can scarcely wonder that of the old religion nothing survives but its outward forms (even these, in the mouth of the multitude, seem rather adulation than adoration of the Deity), and that faith has become a mere compound of credulity and prejudices too, which degrade man from rational being to beast, which completely stifle the power of judgment between true and false, which seem, in fact, carefully fostered for the purpose of extinguishing the last spark of reason! Piety, great God! and religion are become a tissue of ridiculous mysteries; men, who flatly despise reason, who reject and turn away from understanding as naturally corrupt, these, I say, these of all men, are thought, oh lie most horrible! to possess light from on High. Verily, if they

had but one spark of light from on High, they would not insolently rave, but would learn to worship God more wisely, and would be as marked among their fellows for mercy as they are now for malice; if they were concerned for their opponents' souls, instead of for their own reputations, they would no longer fiercely persecute but rather be filled with pity and compassion.

Many passages in Shelley express ideas identical with those cited from Spinoza. The most eloquent, I think, are those in *Prometheus Unbound*:

One came forth of gentle worth,  
Smiling on the sanguine earth;  
His words outlived him, like swift poison  
Withering up truth, peace, and pity.

. . . Thy name I will not speak—  
It hath become a curse. I see, I see  
The wise, the mild, the lofty, and the just,  
Whom thy slaves hate for being like to thee,  
Some hunted by foul lies from their hearts' home,  
An early-chosen, late-lamented home,  
As hooded ounces cling to the driven hind;  
Some linked to corpses in unwholesome cells;  
Some—hear I not the multitude laugh loud?—  
Impaled in lingering fire; and mighty realms  
Float by my feet, like sea-uprooted isles,  
Whose sons are kneaded down in common blood  
By the red light of their own burning fires.

But a worse judgment than this is pronounced by the Fury, emissary of Jupiter:

In each human heart terror survives  
The ruin it has gorged: the loftiest fear  
All that they would disdain to think were 'true.  
Hypocrisy and custom make their minds  
The fanes of many a worship, now outworn.  
They dare not devise good for man's estate,  
And yet they know not that they do not dare!  
The good want power, but to weep barren tears.  
The powerful goodness want; worse need for them.  
The wise want love; and those who love want wisdom;  
And all best things are thus confused to ill.  
Many are strong and rich, and would be just,  
But live among their suffering fellow-men  
As if none felt; they know not what they do.

#### IV.

Few countries in the seventeenth century afforded asylum to the refugees from religious and political persecution. Holland was one such, the haven of Spanish and Portuguese Jews. Yet these exiles could in turn excommunicate a heretic: Spinoza was cast out by the Jews of Holland. However, though expelled from the religious community by his co-religionists, Spinoza suffered no imprisonment or tor-

ture for his heresies or his democratic political views. Perhaps he was fortunate in that he died in middle life. Those champions of religious and political liberty who had befriended Spinoza, Jan and Cornelis de Witt, were murdered by the mob who broke into their prison at the Hague. Spinoza, it is told, was so distracted by this mob murder that he sought to post a denunciation of the murderers near the scene of the crime. He was forcibly prevented from doing so, and perhaps to this circumstance is due his failure to achieve martyrdom in the cause of liberty.

Spinoza's metaphysical doctrines, as has been seen, are by implication otherworldly. But philosophers sympathetic to human suffering rise superior to their doctrines. Spinoza, though on but one or two occasions an actual participant in political affairs, was ardently interested in the cause of freedom, and his theological-political tract is concerned with the practical realities of religious and political liberty. He is a democrat, believing democracy the most desirable form of political organization. This, in the seventeenth century, was not the commonplace that it would be today. The doctrine of democracy was radicalism—Bolshevism—at that time. He says of democracy:

I believe it to be of all forms of government the most natural, and the most consonant with individual liberty. In it no one transfers his natural right so absolutely that he has no further voice in affairs; he only hands it over to the majority of a society, whereof he is a unit. Thus all men remain as they were in the state of Nature, equals.

Spinoza's liberalism was sufficiently radical for its day. He bases ultimate authority in the people and gives to his rulers only delegated powers. Shelley's theory of democracy was far more individualistic and its ultimate goal anarchism. In his Utopia:

... the man remains  
Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man  
Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless,  
Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king  
Over himself.

Yet despite Shelley's greater political radicalism, natural enough in one living

much later and heir to a century of political theorizing, the root of liberty is the same in both: the basic right of free thought and free speech. The seventeenth century, in its justification of reason, of the scientific method, and of the critical spirit, laid the theoretical basis of political liberty. Milton and Spinoza in their defense of free speech and a free press, provide the arguments which underlie the democratic theories of Jefferson, Paine, and Godwin to which Shelley is indebted. Even had Shelley not read the works of Milton and Spinoza he would have been indebted indirectly to them. As it was, they reinforced ideas derived from many political thinkers and strengthened his innate individualism, for he was by nature one of their kind, an instinctive rebel against all forms of tyranny, ecclesiastical or political.

It is a temptation to quote at length both from Spinoza and Shelley on the theme of free thought and free speech. But I must content myself with a few excerpts from Spinoza which go to the root of the matter. Spinoza's words are less well known than Shelley's, but are equally deserving of being held in remembrance and honor by men of democratic belief who today risk their lives and fortunes in defense of them. Many who accept these ideas as self-evident truths may not know that Spinoza was one of the liberators of human thought who first gave them eloquent expression. Writing in his chapter on "Freedom of Thought and Speech," Spinoza declares:

If men's minds were as easily controlled as their tongues, every king could sit safely on his throne, and government by compulsion would cease; for every subject would shape his life according to the intentions of his rulers, and would esteem a thing true or false, good or evil, just or unjust, in obedience to their dictates. However, . . . no man's mind can possibly lie wholly at the disposition of another, for no one can willingly transfer his natural right of free reason and judgment, or be compelled so to do. For this reason government which attempts to control minds is accounted tyrannical, and it is considered an abuse of sovereignty and a usurpation of the rights of subjects to seek to prescribe what shall be accepted as true, or rejected

as false, or what opinions should actuate men in their worship of God. All these questions fall within a man's natural right, which he cannot abdicate even with his own consent.

Freedom of action, Spinoza conceded, the citizen must surrender to the control of the State:

... though not of free reason and judgment; no one can act against the authorities without danger to the state, though his feelings and judgment may be at variance therewith; he may, even speak against them, provided that he does so from rational conviction, not from fraud, anger or hatred, and provided that he does not attempt to introduce any change on his private authority.

Spinoza's discussion helps to clarify a problem which vexes us today: when does a free press transcend its right of legitimate criticism?

Of the evils which arise when legitimate criticism is suppressed, Spinoza had ample evidence in the tyranny which in his world almost universally prevailed. By contrast;

"The city of Amsterdam reaps the fruit of . . . freedom in its own great prosperity and in the admiration of all other people. For in this most flourishing state, and most splendid city, men of every nation and religion live together in the greatest harmony, and ask no questions before trusting their goods to a fellow-citizen, save whether he be rich or poor, and whether he generally acts honestly or the reverse. His religion and sect is considered of no importance; for it has no effect before the judges in gaining or losing a cause, and there is no sect so despised that its followers, provided that they harm no one, pay every man his due, and live uprightly, are deprived of the protection of the magisterial authority.

Let me quote further but one concluding paragraph, the summary of Spinoza's argument on the right of free thought and free speech. It is commended to the attention of our contemporary fuhrers:

Wherefore, the safest way for a state is to lay down the rule that religion is comprised solely in the exercise of charity and justice, and that the rights of rulers in sacred, no less than in secular matters, should merely have to do with actions, but that every man should think what he likes and say what he thinks.

## V.

There are poets and thinkers whose names acquire increasing lustre with the passage of time. This enhancement of

reputation and influence is due partly to the increase in the number of readers capable of comprehending them. The greater their originality, the more far-reaching their ideas, the fewer among their contemporaries who understand them. A great poet, said Wordsworth, creates the taste by which he is appreciated. The same, no doubt, is true of philosophers; notably it is true of social visionaries and religious reformers. The holy company of martyrs bear witness to the slowness with which great virtue of whatever character, moral or esthetic, is known at its true worth. Curiously, too, excellence of disposition and display of the human and social qualities which it is the aim of religion and education to inculcate—friendliness, kindness, self-abnegation—these but serve to excite hatred and persecution. If a man professing high ideals is convicted of some baseness the world rejoices. If he lives up to them he stirs in many a bitter spirit of vindictiveness and is made the victim of the worst misrepresentations and calumnies. Both Spinoza and Shelley suffered persecution during their lifetime and both very slowly came into a proper estimation, if even yet they may be said to have done so.

One of Spinoza's commentators and translators says of him that he, "though not a saint in the accepted sense of the expression, was certainly one of the finest characters of which the history of philosophy can boast." He pursued the bent of his genius and never deviated from his purpose, nor compromised with truth by reason of fear, flattery, or material ambition. Nor did he seek to provoke strife or controversy. He tried, says his biographer, "out of considerateness for his fellowmen . . . as far as possible, not to unsettle their religious beliefs." It was said of him by the Dutch peasants among whom he lived that he was "a man whom it was good to know, kind, upright, obliging, and of good morals." Apparently he succeeded better than most men in living up to his own ideal of human conduct.

He wrote: "I enjoy life and try to live it, not in sorrow and sighing, but in peace, joy, and cheerfulness." Shelley, by contrast, may not have achieved so equable a temper or so great a pitch of philosophic cheerfulness, for his view of human nature and of human existence was dark. The Utopia for which he strove became, as he grew older, a prospect ever more and more remote. But as to his virtues let Byron bear witness, an excellent judge, for as Samuel Butler observed, it is the sub-vicious who can best appreciate virtue. Several comments on Shelley are to be found in Byron's letters. To one correspondent he writes that Shelley has "talent and honor, but is crazy against religion and morality." Four months before Shelley's death, Byron wrote: "Shelley is to my knowledge, the least selfish and the mildest of men—a man who has made more sacrifices of his fortune and feelings for others than any other I have heard of. With his speculative opinions I have nothing in common, nor desire to have." And after Shelley's death he wrote even more warmly: "There is thus another man gone, about whom the world was ill-naturedly, and ignorantly, and brutally mistaken. It will, perhaps, do him justice now, when he can be no better for it." A final instance: "You were all brutally mistaken about Shelley, who was, without exception, the best and least selfish man I ever knew. I never knew one who was not a beast in comparison."

It was not Shelley's supposed immoralities nor even his professed atheism that won him the condemnation of society, but his political and social radicalism, the threat which lay in his ideas to traditional authority and vested privilege in Church and State. He was a rebel and a reformer. He was not an atheist, of course, but accepted the libel because it identified him as one hostile to tyranny. Hostile to institutional Christianity whose "delusions," he said, "are fatal to genius and originality," he was nevertheless a disciple of Christ whom he regarded not

as a divinity but as the greatest of the sons of men.

Christ, in Shelley's belief, preached a doctrine of human equality which had been enunciated earlier by Plato and Diogenes.

"His purpose," Shelley declares, "was the abolition of artificial distinctions among mankind."

There is no incitation to immediate revolution in these words. Nevertheless, it is dangerous doctrine. Its implications are explosive. Constituted authorities and all enemies of change instinctively feel the hostility of such individual and reasonable ideas. The burden is thrown upon the individual; he must learn to think for himself, must conquer in himself all baser desires, all ambition to have power over his fellows. All manner of dangerous political philosophies may spring from such an emphasis. It is no wonder, therefore, that Spinoza and Shelley were in their day feared and traduced. The wonder is that they survived at all, and succeeded in transmitting so much that is still live and potent for modern thought.



*Humoresque*

EMIL ARMIN

# Jews in Poland

By J. P. JUNOSZA

**S**ZMUL ZYGIELBOJM, representing the Jewish Socialist Party in the Poland's National Council in London, speaking on the radio of the Jewish situation in German occupied Poland, said:

"It will really be a shame to live on, a shame to belong to the human race, if means are not found at once to put an end to the greatest crime in human history. . . . The execution of the Jewish population in German occupied Poland is only a part of the plan to exterminate the entire Polish nation."

The German aim concerning the Poles as well as the Jews in occupied Poland is clear. It can be stated in the one German word: "Ausrotten!"—"Exterminate." During the thirteen months I spent under the German occupation in Poland, I often witnessed the bestial treatment of the Polish and Jewish population by Germans. When I say—Germans—I have in mind not only official agencies, like the Gestapo or the Hitler-Jugend or similar, so-to-speak "professional" organizations, but military and civilian Germans as well.

I saw the Warsaw ghetto. Surrounded by walls nine feet high, topped with broken glass, the ghetto can be entered only through severely guarded gates. Leaving the ghetto without permission is punished by death. Over five hundred thousand Jews locked in the Warsaw ghetto and millions in other ghettos and labor camps are dying in great numbers. According to German official statistics, the Jewish death rate is over twenty per cent, and that figure still grows. Homeless children are the scourge of the Warsaw ghetto. Gangs of them swarm in the

streets, begging, stealing. They live and die in doorways, in abandoned ruins, in the streets. These children, dirty and wild like little animals, often manage to run away from the ghetto, to avoid a death of hunger. In October, 1941, as a punitive measure and a warning to future offenders, German policemen publicly drowned thirty Jewish children in the water-filled marl-pits near Okopowa Street.

Fearing the spread of epidemics, the Germans kill off by gas Jews infected with spotted typhus. It is not a new method of Germans. Mass killings by gas or shooting of the insane are reported as taking place not only in occupied Poland. William Shirer in his "Berlin Diary" and Gregor Zierner in his "Education for Death," also report such inhuman methods, called by Germans "mercy killings."

Speaking of the Jewish situation, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Polish Minister of Home Affairs disclosed at a press conference in London many details. Among others in Lublin and the vicinity on the night of March 23 and 24, 1942, 2500 Jews were massacred and the remaining 2600 Jews from Lublin were removed to the concentration camps of Belzec and Trawniki in the Lublin District. Mass murders occurred on such a large scale at Rawa Ruska and Bilgoraj, that Jewish communities have ceased to exist. In Opol, Naleczow, Mielec, Mir, Novogrodek, Lwow, Wilno, Stanislawow, Tarnopol and scores of other places, having a large Jewish population before the war, hundreds of thousands of Jews have been massacred by the Germans and their satellites. The birth rate among the Jews in Poland dropped almost to zero.

The food situation in the ghettos is tragic. The amount of calories received by the Jews is less than 300, in some months, it has been below 200, when the normal for a grown up person is from 1500 to 2000 calories daily. Thus the ghettos become great cemeteries of European Jews, as all of them are herded in this concentration camp, which was once independent Poland, now the German "Lebensraum"—"Living Space"—become a "Death Space" for the Poles and the Jews.

The "Deutsche National Beobachter" of July 22nd, 1942, reports that in the course of a lecture delivered at Munich University on "Justice as the Foundation of the Community of Nations," the butcher of Poland, Governor General Hans Frank said: "In face of all enemy opinion, I declare that the Polish people of the Government General have never been governed as objectively and advantageously as now." And yet there are people who think that the Germans have no sense of humor.

Today the whole civilized world has united in the fight against the greatest criminals in the history of mankind. Poland was the first country to resist Hitler by force of arms. It must be emphasized that in spite of the fact that Poland has been overwhelmed and occupied, the country still carries on the fight. Polish troops today are to be found wherever free men are battling for the future of the world. Poland's armed forces, fighting side by side with the Allies, number more than 200,000 men, and rank fifth in fighting strength among the United Nations. And occupied Poland itself is one of the focal points of a latent revolution against the slavery imposed upon Europe. Since the suppression of the Polish legal press by German authorities, some 150 secret periodicals have made their appearance at different periods. Some of these are printed within the Warsaw ghetto.

Despite the ghetto's walls and the death

penalty, there is a growing collaboration between the Polish and Jewish populations. They are united as never before by their common sufferings, their common desire for freedom, their common hatred of the enemy. A proclamation was drawn up by Polish underground organizations, denouncing the barbarian Germans and confirming the solidarity of the Polish and Jewish masses. The Jews replied from behind the walls of the ghetto by publishing a leaflet representing the breaking down of the ghetto walls by Polish-Jewish cooperation.

Unfortunately, we in Europe needed our dreadful lesson to make us understand and appreciate the need of cooperation. On the basis of what I saw in my thirteen months stay in occupied Poland, as well as from the reports of the underground press of Poland, I may state that there is such an understanding. The hatred of a common enemy and the common will to victory are powers working toward cooperation. Great social changes are taking place in Europe. Already in poverty and starvation and suffering and in the common battle for freedom, there has occurred a mixing of social classes, and a spirit of brotherhood has grown up. We fight today for a real New Order, an Order of Justice and Freedom. Our main objective at the present moment is winning the war. We must not forget, however, that after war there comes peace. This peace must be a lasting one; it must assure the world a long period of security in which war-torn humanity may finally achieve the real aim of its existence, which, obviously, is not the murder of people and enslavement of hundreds of human beings.

The Polish Government in exile is contributing toward the future organization of a peaceful world by drawing up plans for the reestablishment of Poland—that Poland which should become one of the most important factors for stabilizing peace in Europe. Following the Federalist tradition of pre-partition Poland, the

Polish Government in exile has concluded with the governments of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece a treaty aiming to an establishment of a Central and Eastern European Federation, composed of these and other neighboring countries, a Federation extending from the Adriatic and Aegean Sea to the Baltic.

The position of the Jewish population in Poland has been defined by a number of resolutions of the Polish Government in exile and the Polish National Council. Of these I will quote two:

Declaration made by the Polish Government on November 3, 1940.

"Anti-Semitic slogans have always been foreign to the psychology of the Polish nation. The Polish nation will always remain faithful to its finest traditions of freedom, which are symbolized in the words: 'For our freedom and yours.' In liberated Poland Jews as citizens will be equal in responsibilities and rights with Polish society, and will be able unhindered to develop their culture, religion, and customs. The guarantees of this will be not only the State Laws but also the common sacrifices made in the struggle for a liberated Poland and the common sufferings in this most tragic period of oppression of the Polish and Jewish population in our unfortunate country."

Declaration made by the Polish Government on June 10, 1941:

"The Polish Government shares the principles expounded by the Polish Prime Minister in the United States, on the government policy concerning the Jews, and in particular, associates itself with his declaration on this question, made in the National Council on June 4, 1941, reading as follows: 'In accordance with the sincerely democratic policy of the government, the principle of equal duties and equal rights will be binding in the future Poland in regard to all citizens of the Republic without regard to nationality, race, or creed. That is the standpoint of the Polish government, which regards all cultivation of an anti-Semitic policy as harmful.'"

For such a Poland we fight.

The future victory will bring to Poland the liberation of all its inhabitants. It will break down the walls of the ghettos. It will destroy the legal discriminations introduced by the Germans against Polish citizens of Jewish race.

We do not *BEG* for freedom, we *FIGHT* for it!

The collaboration of Jews with us in our efforts to achieve the desired end of a free and strong Poland is indispensable. To assure the necessary cooperation in the future, an immediate joining of our forces is imperative.

United we must stand, for divided we shall surely fall.



*The Philosopher*

N. P. STEINBERG

# Sam Citizen

By SELWYN S. SCHWARTZ

## I.

I love music, Mister: the crescendos,  
the allegros,  
the adagios,  
the prestos,  
the sharp notes of the wind, Mister.

There is music in every acre, square,  
cornerstone  
of my land. And I love my land, Mister:  
the championship,  
the power,  
the common harmony  
of my land, the age of my land.  
Say, Mister, every mile of this land  
is yours,  
is mine,  
is ours.

I can't wait to talk to you,  
every acre in  
my spinal nerve  
inscribes of

living omens, Mister.

You will love the blue of this land:  
it sings  
and heals—

The rhapsody of my blood.

There is even speech in the wind, Mister,  
listen

to the oboes of our chimneys, the stories  
of rough stones,  
cobblestones,  
valley stones,

My shoulders, Mister, of a thousand towns.

## II.

Listen, Mister: I was dead a thousand times.  
My kinsfolk  
and my neighbors too busy to bury me.  
Doesn't seem  
possible . . .

They called me: Dream. It was fun.  
They never  
knew my age,  
I was old and young: They called me:  
Love.

I was pretty too.  
The folks were proud of me, Mister: Here I was:  
whistlin' in the wind,  
handsome with my rifle,  
writin' history  
through wet marshes and forests. They also called me:  
Torch-bearer.

Yes, they did, I remember clearly, Mister  
the crossing of the  
rivers.

What a regiment I had: Devils and Hawks, Gods  
and Legends,  
Clocks of my heart, citizens of tomorrow.

### III.

Into the arteries  
of my land  
the prophets  
sang of soil  
and timber, and the trees, Mister,  
fingers skyward.

Well, then,  
the firmament of waves,  
little bombs in the hearts  
of our rivers.  
So they were.

The citizens of tomorrow  
Firing into the Sun,  
strapping the Moon  
as we walked in the streams  
of States,  
My brothers and I, as we marked the  
shores  
with famous strokes . . .



They all loved her:  
 Jealous?  
 Not me, Mister.

Washington,  
 Tom Paine,  
 Samuel Adams,  
 Jefferson, Lincoln,  
 I remember your Father loved her as well;  
 Why, John Brown  
 loved her so much, he died for her.  
 They loved her  
 and fought for her.  
 Jealous?  
 Not me, Mister, I was her God. I was the occasion.

## V.

I love music, Mister: the sound,  
                                   the echoes,  
                                   the masculine  
 voices of my land. I was too busy to get  
 the tall cities of iron together,  
                                   the power dams  
                                   to resound,  
 to paint the immobile skies for the kids  
                                   and folks;  
 I was busy hanging bridges, testing rails  
                                   and watched  
 the wombs of oil fields  
                                   getting riper and riper,  
 Mister, I was everywhere,  
                                   watching the womenfolk  
 and marked their calendars, captivated the Sun  
                                   in prayers,  
                                   psalms of grace  
 they call it. I've heard the songs of the plows,  
                                   the rhythm of steel,  
 felt the strength of iron,  
                                   loved the curve of the rivers.  
 The country grew ahead between whispers  
                                   of seeds,  
                                   the breeds  
 of martyrs, the citizens of tomorrow.

Say Mister, every mile of this land is yours  
 and mine. I am glad you love it.

My name? Pardon me, Mister, thought you knew me.  
 Well—  
 Call me: Sam Citizen . . .  
 Yes, indeed, Mister, you're welcome.

# *The Jew in the Post-War World*

By M. R. KARGMAN

SINCE THE RENAISSANCE the treatment of the Jews in the various countries has been a barometer indicating whether the masses of the people were being oppressed and downtrodden or whether they were achieving a measure of liberty and equality. When the pressure increased against the rights of the masses in the State anti-Semitism mounted in height and fury. As the pressure against the masses was reduced and the democratic rights of the masses increased anti-Semitism was reduced in extent and feeling. The present-day European pressure of hate and oppression against the rights of liberty and equality has caused anti-Semitism to rise to a new high for modern times as to its extent and ruthlessness. With the victory of the democratic forces of enlightenment and justice the barometer will shift again to register a lowering in the force of anti-Semitism.

In order to obtain full benefit of the victory of democratic ideals the Jews must prepare for the future. They must know what their problems are. They must be prepared to aid in the presentation of the most feasible solutions to the peace conference and the post-war peace organization. The Research Institute of the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress are doing yeoman work in compiling the data with reference to legal limitations of rights of Jews and economic and social discriminations against the Jews in the various countries. The Jews as a people, however, cannot sit back leaving the problems to the earnest and able efforts of such groups. All

Jews as well as all peoples must learn to understand the social patterns and forces which bring about a "Jewish problem" and must consider the possible solutions to the problem.

Our first step in this venture must be to eliminate from Jewish thinking the misguided and false solutions to the Jewish problem. These arise out of the age old Jewish tendency for self castigation and are in the nature of the isolationist and appeasement notions which have so recently shown their lack of ability to meet the exigencies of the international situation. They may be described as follows:

(1) The realignment of occupations of the Jews. This is the theory that there are too many Jewish lawyers and too many Jewish doctors and too many Jews in commerce, that there are not enough Jews in agriculture or working as laborers. The Jews as well as the non-Jews must realize that he who says there are too many Jews in certain professions is quick to say there are too many Jews without further qualification. When anti-Semitism is on the rise, Jews are called in one breath international capitalists and bankers, in the other, communists seeking the overthrow of all capital; in one breath, polluters of the culture of the nation in which they reside, in the other, segregationists who will not contribute to the culture of the nation in which they reside. There is no pleasing the anti-Semites by adjusting the conduct or occupation of the Jew at their request. The conduct of the Jew should be governed not by the desire to avoid trouble with the anti-Semitic factions but rather by

the consciousness of the duty upon him to contribute to the general world good regardless of the canards and persecutions of the anti-Semites. Where a Jew has the ability to become an engineer in charge of planning he should not feel that it is his duty to become a laborer in order that there may be a sufficient number of Jewish laborers.

(2) The idea of individual assimilation. This is a spurious solution to the problem. Thus Germany and the countries that followed suit went back several generations to determine whether or not a man was a Jew. The best that a Jew could hope to attain by that means might be that his grandchild would be on the side of the Nazis wielding the whip rather than suffering under its lash. Jews must recognize the totality of the problems concerning the Jew as well as the totality of the problems of the whole world. They must therefore have no lack of courage. They must accept their burden in the world struggle for equality of rights and must join in the fight for equal rights and equality of opportunity for all. The Jewish problem is an integral part of the world problem of freedom and equality for all. It can only be satisfactorily solved within the framework of the world solution of the problem of civil and economic inequalities and oppressions. The Jew as a Jew has made and will continue to make great cultural contributions to the forces moving toward equality and the brotherhood of man. The moral code which is the backbone of Western civilization is derived from the Judaic moral code as extended and modified by the Christian code. The cultural tradition of the Jew—reverence for law and justice—disapproval of intemperance—requirement of and respect for scholasticism and learning—this tradition is a basis for a distinctive and valuable contribution to society's problems and affairs. The Jew must not obliterate this culture. He should enrich his own cultural tradition by absorbing the cultures of surrounding

tradition for the enrichment of their peoples and in return contribute his culture.

One of the first things a Jew must do is what he would like the Gentile to do—that is, learn to understand the relationship between the Jew and the Gentile. The Jew must realize that the fundamental *mores* and social controls of the modern world are Judeo-Christian in character. He should learn the role of Judaism in bringing forth the ideals of modern democracy. He should learn what the teachings are in the various Christian fields—how they are related to each other and to Judaism and how they differ from each other. Attitudes which encourage differences between Jew and Gentile, attitudes of superiority and attitudes of inferiority, these all should be discarded in the educative process.

In the meantime pending the educative process for both Jew and non-Jew, the Jew must learn how to work with and live with his Gentile neighbor. He must not carry a chip on his shoulder. He should not say "They don't like Jews" or "They don't hire Jews," unless he is absolutely certain. Such false rumor-mongering or suspicious approach bodes ill for a common sympathy and understanding with the non-Jew. The Jew must learn to be careful and generous in this respect, as in others. On the other hand, he must realize that the Gentile will sometimes generalize with respect to all Jews on the basis of the conduct of a few Jews. He must at the opportune moment point out the errors of such generalization. It might be easier at the moment to hide ostrich-like, but the Jew must have the courage and fortitude to take the longer but truer path of gradual and responsible education for himself as well as the non-Jew.

This discussion has considered the long range and ultimate solution of the Jewish problem. But hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of European Jews will require immediate and drastic action for their rehabilitation. Thousands of them

will have to emigrate to places where they may start afresh. The possible places to which such a large number of peoples will be able to go must be studied carefully. Palestine is, and must be, the first choice of the emigrants. The aspiration of the Jew for a Jewish national home must be recognized as a proper and legitimate one. The development of Palestine must go on. If complete autonomy is not feasible in such resettled countries then there must be a world control which will be definite and which will carry out the assurances made at the peace conference. It must be realized that some interests of some sort may be disturbed or upset by making provision for such large numbers of people but such disturbances will be made only in the interest of the greater benefit of the whole framework of the world. The idea that the Jews may be resettled only in places where there is no objection and no opposition is a wholly fallacious one. Problems must be solved in a practical manner bearing in mind people's attitudes and social forces, but they cannot necessarily be solved in a manner that will please everybody and displease nobody. Further there must be an organization of resources and plans so as to make for the effective use of the resettlement area by these large numbers of people in the shortest possible time. This is not the problem of the central European Jews plus a few persons who are in the position of leaders of Jewish opinion in this country. It is the problem of all the Jews. It is moreover the problem of all the peoples. Until the freedom from want and freedom from fear problems are solved, we cannot even begin to educate peoples in the values and duties of the democratic ideal. A speedy solution of the problems that are directed to freedom from fear and freedom from want means that we are able to start on the road toward social and cultural progress.

But the road of freedom and equality is not easy. The mere formulation of laws—treaties and constitutional provisions—

is not sufficient to solve problems created by the clash of economic and social forces. History has shown how laws and even constitutions of states may be circumvented. In 1878 The Congress of Berlin granted Roumania its independence on condition that all citizens receive civil and political rights regardless of their religious faith. This provision was incorporated into the Constitution of Roumania. Nevertheless by circumvention and various devices the Roumanian government permitted only 400 Jews out of 250,000 eligibles to become citizens. The treaty and constitutional provisions were of little practical effect in that country. Similarly after the first World War all treaties and constitutions of the newly-formed States provided for general equality regardless of religious faith. The legislative and constitutional provisions proved ineffective in Roumania, Poland and subsequently in most of Europe, to halt the tide of anti-Semitism that rose with the forces of hate and oppression. We must realize that there are social forces, habits and attitudes of the peoples which will influence their conduct regardless of constitutional and legislative provisions. We must face the fact that Nazi Germany has carried on a propaganda campaign of defamation, scurrilous charges and infamous treatment of Jews which has impinged upon and influenced the attitude of whole peoples in central Europe regardless of whether they are allied or opposed to Germany in the present line-up of nations. Furthermore the taking away of property and jobs of Jews in central Europe has created for many people vested economic interests in these properties and jobs. These great numbers of peoples would be seriously affected in their personal lives if there were an attempt to make restitution of these properties and jobs to the persons wrongfully deprived of them. Such a misguided attempt at restitution of specific property and jobs would create only disorder and antagonism and would stir the

embers of the religious, national and so-called racial hatred so recently kindled by Nazi ideology.

We must recognize that the Jews may only secure freedom and equality as a part of the freedom and equality of all peoples in the world, that the Jewish problem in the post-war world is an integral part of all problems of the various peoples that make up the world. We must understand that in order to avoid the clashing of opposite forces, be they economic, religious, cultural or social, there must be a unifying force. There must be a total unity, a central rallying symbol for the loyalties and ties of all peoples which is greater than the individual and smaller unities which may clash. There must then be a central world organization. This central organization must have the power to implement its decisions. An emasculated or impotent organization which relies as did the League of Nations largely on the public opinion of the various nations to enforce its decrees cannot hope to have better success than the League of Nations. There must be a world police force to carry out the dictates of the peace. While the immediate police force may be composed of representatives of the allied nations the ultimate police force must be representative of all the nations of the world, victor and vanquished. No people will continue under the forcible control of another no matter how benevolent or enlightened such control may be. Equality of representation for peoples is as vital to an enduring peace as equality of all peoples in the individual states. Furthermore, there must be made available equality of economic opportunity and this equality must be real and not merely verbal. Selfish control of raw materials on the part of some nations as well as trade barriers and other measures which amount to economic discrimination must be eliminated. The world organization must be dedicated to the orderly process of raising the economic levels and making a

more abundant life available for the great masses of the world. Similarly, the ideas and habits of equality and democracy, the emphasis of the obligations of a citizen in a democracy to seek the good of all rather than the selfish good of himself or his particular economics, social or cultural group must be inculcated in all the various peoples by educative processes. It must be recognized that to thrust upon a people who are unready for it the full power and obligations of complete democratic control is visionary and impractical. While the democratic ideal must be held fast against all adversity the practical implementation of the ideal must be gradually and practically worked out in accordance with the circumstances and backgrounds of the individual peoples involved. These are some of the general considerations which the Jews must bear in mind and partake in order to solve their problems.

The Jews must realize and bear courageously and proudly their burden and obligation to bring about world equality and the traditional rights of man for all peoples so that they may have them for themselves as a part of all peoples. They must carry on against adversity and more difficult still they must carry on when they are relatively comfortable and happy in their own immediate circles to see to it that all peoples including all Jews may in the course of the "century of the common man" attain the enriched cultural and social life of the Judeo-Christian ideal of the brotherhood of man.



Minstrels

TODROS  
GELLER

# Red Soldier

By BENJAMIN WEINTROUB

IN THE SOUTH, Hitler's hordes were storming Sevastopol. . . . In the north, the Russians were beating back the Nazi savage thrusts at Leningrad. . . . The war correspondent's cable of heroic exploits of individual soldiers on the Soviet front, culled from the "Red Star" was now marshalling names and places where bloody deeds of valor were performed as a matter of daily routine. Suddenly from the pages of the newspaper, a name impinged itself upon my consciousness and riveted my eyes to the black type:

"For extraordinary valor under fire in leading a contingent of guerrilla fighters to the destruction of ten fascist tanks in the vicinity of N. . . . railroad crossing. Commander Abram Volny is awarded the order of Lenin."

I knew this red soldier, and as I clutched the paper, there came back to me a tale he told me, years ago, when I revisited Odessa. . . .

Incredible things had happened in the summer of 1921. Eye witnesses to or actors in many of the striking incidents which had occurred in and around Odessa were averse to discussing them. Sometimes, the reserve was broken. For instance, if a tourist possessed a supply of cigarettes vastly superior to any Russian brand, a necktie—a zaviazka—as the natives call the article, a safety razor, tobacco, or was merely fortunate in arousing the good will of a Soviet citizen, then the narrator of a particular episode honestly could assume that more than idle curiosity dictated the tourist's inquiries.

My informant, a well-built young working man, Abram Volny by name, walked with a pronounced limp. During the civil war he had fought in the Red Army, in

command of a troop train, and from what I could observe was now quite a figure in the town. He was reticent in talking of the past.

"It was all suffering," he said. "Friend and enemy all felt the ordeal which devastation brought, but everyone hankered for life. The heroic? We but obeyed orders; still at all times we, citizen soldiers, were conscious that we were fighting a personal foe, someone who had done us an injury. Comrades and I, attacking or retreating, knew the measure of our task. You insist on my being specific? My giving you the outstanding event in my experience on that front? It was in the third month of fighting under Podlubny, when Denikin's bandits attacked us at about three in the morning and I fought for over an hour in my underwear. Later, I found my coat and trousers were gone; it was a week before I got another outfit.

"Oh I don't mean to be flippant; and it wasn't at all funny then, astride a horse in late October, the rain lashing upon barely covered shoulders. But you want something concrete? A definite experience outstanding in its starkness. Well . . ."

We were in his rooms on Chicherin Street, a modest home on the second floor of an old shanty, the rooms poorly furnished, the walls decorated with prints of famous leaders of contemporary Russia. We were alone.

Abram Volny got up and walked for some time from one end of the room to the other. He limped and his breath came a little faster; I thought that perhaps he had inhaled the smoke from the cigarette, for he began to cough and to use a hand-

kerchief. Then he sat down, sideways, so that instead of facing me, he was facing the wall with its numerous prints of Soviet leaders.

His voice sounded lifeless and far away: "My sister, Millie, is not in the Crimea; she is in this town in a hospital for the incurably insane."

He flipped the ashes from the cigarette, leaned against the back of his chair as if bracing himself for a shock and said: "I could have stopped her from going there but I chose not to!"

He waited for me to say something but I didn't; I was looking at the oil cloth which was covering the table, and he at the prints on the wall.

"I was rather active, you know, during the civil war; besides fighting in the ranks, I was now and then put on intelligence duty: spy work. That was in the summer of 1921."

He relaxed a little and words now came less harshly.

"Toward the end of the Civil War, our town was considerably troubled by repeated attacks of bandits. We, in Odessa, helped push General Wrangel further south to the Crimea; the French lifted their naval blockade of the city and the Bolsheviks policed the town. But the outskirts, particularly near Lutsdorf—in the section peopled by Germans, fifteen miles west of the city—were endless nests from which were hatched innumerable plots against the citizenry—quick murderous thrusts, brutal raids, mostly successful. The Germans fled their homes long before that summer and until we got through with the White General Wrangel we had neither the means nor the time to cope with these brigands. And then..."

He lit a fresh cigarette and inhaled its smoke long and deeply. He coughed a little and said: "A remnant of the famous Petlura gang was then operating out of Lutsdorf; an old crafty thief, notorious in the days of pre-Czar Russia, Smidoff by name, commanded it: I guess he knew that the odds were against him with

Wrangel no longer near, the French fleet no longer in port, and he was looking for a quick get-away. We, however, of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council controlled Odessa at that time and thought otherwise about his going. Innumerable atrocious crimes were charged to him and his band-torturers. Do you know the old Dalnitsky Synagogue on Passage Avenue? One of his lightning raids took place on New Year's Day when the place was filled, mostly with old people. Well, never mind more about it . . .

"And besides we knew that his plunder, the loot of many months of successful pillaging, must be enormous—gold and precious stones. Our Intelligence discovered that the bulk of the band headed by the chief, Smidoff, and about seventy of his fellow murderers had chartered a Greek steamer to leave our shores the following night. Our command laid quick and careful plans to capture all of them; I was assigned to spy on their movements. Nothing was supposed to arouse their suspicions. Needless to say we meant to exterminate them, for Smidoff's leadership could make him easily swell his band of seventy into seven hundred or more.

"Our home was at the end of Nikolaevsky Road on the edge of the city. There were few houses in the neighborhood, these mostly abandoned shacks; as a matter of fact during the troublesome months of 1921 until this time no one in our family had lived in that house on Nikolaevsky Road; most of our family stayed for weeks at a time with Aunt Gertrude. I was well armed of course—two loaded Brownings and ammunition enough to fight a regiment. I avoided the gang's night watch with ease—I had been over that ground hundreds of times—and overheard a personal order from Smidoff to two of his men to reconnoiter the city prior to the band starting to the Greek steamer. I knew, of course, where our own men were lying in wait all along that road and where our ambush was laid.

"The men left and I followed them. Both

of them were drunk. Both were given specific instructions when to return, for from what I observed, the Smidoff camp was ready to leave at a moment's notice. Their scouting was but an additional precautionary measure of the cunning bandit Smidoff.

"It was easy to trail the Smidoff people. The night was dark, I knew the road by heart and the drunken bandits seemed to look upon their errand as quite perfunctory. One of them was for lying down to rest and reporting to the chief that all was well. But the more conscientious of the two urged him on. He said something about women . . ."

Volny paused, rose, and for a while paced the floor. Then, his left hand resting on the table, his eyes upon the wall, standing as if giving a military report, he continued:

"As I trailed them, I whispered to several of our men, hiding in the dark, the mission of the persons I followed, then warned them to make no false moves. It would, of course, have been ridiculously easy to destroy the bandits. But, don't you see," he said, no longer looking at the prints on the wall, but at me, "they simply had to go back, otherwise Smidoff would not have budged, and the plans of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council could not have been carried out. I would have failed in my plain duty. I would have been a traitor.

"Upon arriving at Nikolaevsky Road, just at the bend of the avenue where our building stands, the scouts stopped. There was light in our windows. When I left home it was dark. Had these men been sober, charged as they were with so grave an errand, they would have avoided any living habitation. But they were drunk.

They made for the house. I was now perhaps within fifteen feet of them. Both of my Brownings literally leapt into my hands. I could and still do shoot from either hand.

"Millie was in that house. I knew because I had heard her voice, heard much of what she said, heard my own name. I was a sort of hero to the family you know . . . well, these men had to go back soon to their chief, the bandit, Smidoff. A small patrol came up, the commander of which—a friend of our family—begged me to interfere. I pressed the muzzles of both of my Brownings against the pit of his stomach and told him that the plans for the Smidoff affair were unchanged . . .

"When the men left my sister, I sent our soldiers to take care of her . . . I couldn't walk into that room . . . instead I trailed the bandits back into the Smidoff camp. I guarded them from danger so that they could report that all was well, that the coast was clear. They seemed to have sobered after their recent experience. It was I who was drunk with passion and . . . and regret. Yes . . . regret. Poor Millie . . . ever since that night she has been an inmate of an asylum for the insane. Aunt Gertrude, even to this day, is in the habit of saying that had I been anywhere near, such a thing would not have happened to my little sister. I still have to listen to that . . .

"The Smidoff band? Oh yes. Our surprise attack was a complete success." Volny lit another cigarette. "All loot recovered and all exterminated." He added slowly, "All, you understand," his eyes rested on mine unnecessarily long it seemed, "all members of the band including Smidoff, were accounted for."

It was dark now. I could not see his face.

# The POST'S Jewish Articles

By SAMUEL P. GURMAN

RECENTLY THERE APPEARED in *The Saturday Evening Post* four articles on the Jews. Everyone knows this, of course, but I discovered in my conversations with people that there are many more who discuss these articles than have read them. Therefore, if only to keep the record clear, I should like to indicate briefly their nature and their import.

Of import, apart from the great stir they created, there is almost none. The first three of these articles, those by Judge Jerome Frank, by the novelist Waldo Frank, and by the Chicago journalist, Milton Mayer, appeared in what the *Post* called a symposium on the Jews by three supposed experts. But so violent was the reaction against these articles, especially that of Milton Mayer, that the *Post* requested Wendell Willkie to write a fourth, discussing the other three.

As I have said, not one of these articles is of any real significance or importance. Not one of these writers is really an expert on Jewish life. To be sure, Mr. Willkie's task was not that of an expert. His purpose was merely to give expression to the liberal-minded American's point of view with respect to the problem, especially with respect to the problem created by the irrepressible Milton Mayer. No one can, of course, take issue with what Mr. Willkie said. His was a clear, resounding—and a very clearly reasoned—attack upon those who would attempt to foment such hatreds as are characterized by anti-Semitism. It was an attack upon them not only for the evil which they perpetrate upon their victims but for the very great harm they do to our democracy and to our nation. Mr. Willkie

states frankly that anti-Semitism, or rather oppression of all minorities, is natural to primitive culture. The insecurity of primitive majorities compel them to fear the competition of the minorities, and, says Mr. Willkie, even in an imperfectly achieved democracy, during periods of stress and adversity, it is not absolutely unnatural for the frightened majority to ease the strain upon its nerves by mistreating minority groups.

It is interesting to compare this view with that of Professor H. E. Barnes, who says in his *Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World*: "It was natural that the dominating psychological traits of the ancient world should be intolerance and what Professor F. H. Giddings used to call a passion for cultural 'homogeneity'."

But, to return to Mr. Willkie, it is also natural that with the proper development of democratic principles, this intolerance tends to disappear. And in a perfect democracy, or in a democracy existing under happy and prosperous conditions, it does disappear.

Judge Frank, in his article, takes much the same position. He delves more deeply than does Mr. Willkie, into the various manifestations of anti-Semitism, brought on by the rapidly disappearing "strangeness" of the old-world Jews, when they first came to this country. But with the disappearance of this "strange" aspect, and with the growth of similarities—in attire, in customs, in habits, and in manners—coupled with an expanding democratic attitude on the part of all people in this country, both among Jews and Gentiles, this intolerance tends to disappear. Judge Frank, like Mr. Willkie, also

stresses the fact that our democratic development is not perfect, and that therefore it would be too much to expect a complete disappearance of intolerance.

But the important point that both of these men make is that tolerance is engendered by mutual understanding, by the effort on the part of the minority groups especially to become as one with the majority. In other words, when the obvious differences disappear, intolerance disappears also. Especially is this true of superficial or outward differences. But it is basically true of all differences,—of all cultural and intellectual differences, that is. The Jew can be tolerated by his neighbors, even by these who are less enlightened, because he is basically not greatly different from them. When such differences as do exist are exaggerated, and when others are artificially created and emphasized, the desired tolerance is not likely to result.

Waldo Frank and Milton Mayer, however, seem to take an entirely different view of the matter. That is to say, they do not deny perhaps that differences engender in tolerance, but they insist, nevertheless, upon emphasizing the supposed distinctive qualities of the Jew. Waldo Frank assumes an air of complete objectivity and tries to offer a quasi-sociological analysis of the subject. He suffers, however, from the old superiority complex of which the Jew has been so often accused. Despite his concession to Judge Frank that the Jews are not superior to other people in intelligence, in artistic power, or in philanthropic or moral inclinations, he does insist that they are unique. The Jew is different. He cannot point out the difference. It is spiritual. It is imperceptible. Even the Jew, Mr. Frank insist, is unconscious of it.

Waldo Frank writes beautifully, as may be expected from so eminent an author. He writes with sincerity, too, and with a certain plausible restraint. But what Jew has not heard these wild claims of Jewish superiority uttered so frequently

by those who mistakenly consider themselves our friends? Here we are, living in a world of expanding democracy, a world which, that is to say, *was* developing toward democracy until the Nazi hordes began their vicious attack upon it, but which will undoubtedly continue in this direction after the arch-promoters of anti-democratic "uniqueness" and "racism" are driven from the earth. And what does the well-meaning Waldo Frank do, but repeat the old discarded notions about Jewish superiority? There may be poetic justification for such mystical concepts as those expressed by Frank—though if there is I fail to see its value. But I do recognize its harmful effect outside the realm of poetry or metaphysical yearning. And I cannot see where there is any justification, poetic or otherwise, in promoting or stressing a palpable untruth.

To stress the uniqueness of a whole people, especially when there is no scientific justification for it, in times like these is to play, wittingly or unwittingly, into the hands of the enemies of democracy. And certainly it is a disservice to the Jews. Yet there can be little doubt that Waldo Frank is a true liberal and an earnest and conscientious person.

I do not doubt that Mr. Mayer is also earnest and conscientious—though his attack upon the Jews is, to say the least, a trifle oblique in intent. What many of those who are repelled by Mr. Mayer's article failed to appreciate was that in it he presents an indictment, not against the Jew so much as against the whole structure of modern society. Mr. Mayer does not like modern society. And he castigates the Jew for not repelling it also—for not repelling it in favor of those practices which most modern Jews have long discarded.

Here, too, we have an unwarranted emphasis upon the uniqueness of the Jew. Mayer stresses this supposed uniqueness, insisting that because the Jew has tried to live like other men, has tried to take part in the normal activities of democracy,

has tried to grow away from the uniqueness that characterized him for centuries in a hostile world, that because of this the Jew suffers from oppression and intolerance.

Judge Frank and Mr. Willkie, though they have said nothing particularly new, are eminently right. Their approach to the problem is healthy and in keeping with our American social aims. Waldo Frank and Milton Mayer reopen wounds that we had hoped were closed and healed. They reopen them and rub salt in them.

We are not different from other people. There is no scientific reason for saying we are. We are not better or worse. We are men like other men. And we long to take our place among all the other peoples of the earth in a world that will, very soon we hope, be once more guided by the principles of democracy and tolerance and the brotherhood of man. He who tries to proclaim our supposed difference, even if he intends to praise us, performs a great disservice, not only to us, but to the very concept of equality in which we all believe.



Pioneer

TODROS GELLER

# *The New American*

By VICTOR EHRLICH

IN THE PRESENCE of the world's most tyrannical age we strive to safeguard our American ideals so that our enemy will find us unconquerable both physically and spiritually. Our Declaration of Independence and Constitution were devised to permanently insure the "wholeness and oneness" of our citizenry. To maintain these decent, civilized standards, we must actually live with these ideals embedded in our hearts and minds so that our behavior will be guided by them.

The New American will arise out of this war of hatred and oppression. He will not be of any specified height, nor will he be typed as to the color of his skin or the texture of his hair but by his social attitudes and his civilized characteristics shall he be known, for these are the things which man will hold as all important in their attempt to realize a worthwhile order. If American idealism is to flourish in the future, it is imperative that we develop a true American temperament, one which does not merely help the individual to tolerate, but rather one which seeks to understand one's fellows, thus restraining him from making illogical judgments of and discriminations against them. Hatred is the one big factor which prevents social progress because it places insurmountable barriers between individuals and groups and shuts out all understanding. If all men would suddenly become possessed with the desire to know and to understand other men, the Americanism to which we so readily subscribe by giving lip service, would become a reality in our time.

There is only one way that the Ameri-

can mind can be self-disciplined to accept civilized standards and that is through education. Many educative institutions are responsible for the social attitudes expressed by individuals and groups and it is precisely these institutions which have the power to eradicate those attitudes which are deleterious to social progress. The schools, for example, are capable of collaborating and deciding upon a national course of education which will teach all to understand the fundamental truths that are not as self-evident to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as the signers of the Constitution thought, but which are nevertheless the most important things in human life. The New American will learn to adjust adequately in his society and by disciplining himself with the aid of all institutions that affect his thinking. Just as scientists and inventors have helped us to understand and control our physical world, so will the New American be taught to understand his social world and what he must do to better it.

In the future, lives must be ordered by the passionate desire to effect wholesome social relationships. The school and education will play a vital role in aiding man to analyze himself and his society so that he may learn to be constructive and plan his social relationships intelligently.

The New American will study diligently for he will be given ample leisure time to do so. He will consider such subjects as social anthropology, social psychology and political economy. Heretofore these subjects have had an academic connotation attached to them for they have been regarded as highly technical—studies com-

prehended only by professors and college students. But they will be "brought down to earth." The movies and the radio will illustrate them in such a manner that they will be made comprehensible to all. Class room instruction will embrace a detailed analysis of the various races—socio-economic societies—reasons for human behavior in specific socio-economic cultures, and how that behavior is subject to change in accordance with a proportionate change of culture.

It is essential that the scientific theories of race and culture dynamics be clearly understood. Anthropologist Frank Boas informs us that "there is no evidence whatever that would stigmatize the Negro as the weaker build, or as subject to inclinations and powers that are opposed to our social organization. An unbiased estimate of the anthropological evidence so far brought forward does not permit us to countenance the belief that racial inferiority which would unfit an individual of the negro race to take his part in modern civilization. We do not know of any demand made on the human body or mind in modern life that anatomical or ethnological evidence would prove to be beyond the powers of the Negro.

The traits of the American negro are adequately explained on the basis of his history and social status. The tearing-away from the African soil and the consequent complete loss of the old standards of life, which were replaced by the dependency of slavery and by all it entailed, followed by a period of disorganization and by a severe economic struggle against heavy odds, are sufficient to explain the inferiority of the status of the race, without falling back upon the theory of hereditary inferiority."

The point of view expressed in this quotation is the one adopted by the modern social scientist, and it is the one to be learned and diffused by the New American. The quotation implies that "class theory" be discarded in favor of the modern psychological point of view—

the organismic or "field theory" as set forth by the social psychologist Kurt Lewin, because "class theory" is directly responsible for race hatred, nationalism and world wars. It is formidable, indeed, for a nation to be trained to think that the behavior of human beings is governed by the "class" to which they belong rather than have it discipline itself to reason that human behavior is always the result of the environmental forces which calls forth a particular type of reaction for a specific situation. The former theory is employed by Adolph Hitler; the latter by the New American who endeavors to be free and to think clearly and logically about his fellow-men for Americans cannot afford to discriminate against any race or creed because it would ultimately produce results which closely resemble the anti-social scene in Europe.

Thinking about men in terms of their individual histories rather than classifying them will enable the New American to broaden his mental horizon and live in a true democratic state for it is the prevalence of this type of social attitude which allows every individual to conclude that all men can be of potential service to their community.

The New American will fervently desire this system of education which will help him discipline his mind so that he may approach his problem scientifically. Educator R. B. Raub writing in *The Educational Frontier* states that "the obvious conclusion is to try to be intelligent" for this "is the main business of society." The corollary is that society's primary and foremost occupation is education. The social process is the interplay of human impulses in the quest for a satisfactory state of affairs." The New American will see to it that his national system of education is planned as to instill this point of view because he will want his children to grow up in an environment which is "socially conscious" so that American ideals of "domestic tranquility" will be perpetuated.

The post-war world will look to America for help and guidance. This means that American citizens assume a new responsibility, that of teaching demoralized millions to rehabilitate themselves. It will be impossible for Americans to do this if they have not adequately prepared themselves for the task. No advice of a social nature can be given to spiritually broken men if the adviser has not himself made an honest attempt to learn the necessary techniques in the art of living.

The New American will grasp the opportunity to use these techniques. He will listen carefully to the explanations of race origins, descriptions of primitive and modern cultures, racial differences and finally, how these various races can accommodate themselves for satisfactory adjustments in America. He will live in accordance with this knowledge by practicing it, and when subjugated Germany and enslaved Europe have destroyed Hitlerism and seek to build a social fabric

based on the respect for human life, they will immediately pattern themselves after the American paragon of mind and spirit.

The New American realizes that there is absolutely no substitute for human intelligence—that if he is to have a worthwhile order, he must inspire his fellowmen to train themselves to think so that they may understand the psycho-emotional nature of man—the history of the human race—how men are in the process of becoming civilized, and the part each individual must play if that process is to be carried a step higher toward its ultimate ideal. Skeptics and defeatists will brand the New American's aims—impossible—idle dreams, but all these mouthings will fail to stop him as he moves to these goals, for he possesses the Promethean fire, the spark and drive, the will to learn—change—improve himself and others by the application of his intelligence and the development of all his fine gregarious tendencies.



*The Coming of the Messiah*

A. RAYMOND KATZ

# BOOKS

*Brother, the Laugh is Bitter*, by Laurence Lipton. Harper & Brothers, 309 pp., \$2.50.

The alleged or actual rising tide of anti-Semitism in the United States has been accorded of late considerable attention in the American press. There have been alarming stories of the numerous efforts on the part of our native born fascists who took bloody gold from Berlin to injure and ostracize the Jew. The F.B.I. has been doing wholesome work recently in exposing the various individuals who, wrapped in the American flag, maintained themselves on Goebbels's payroll. Little, however, appeared in the realm of creative literature that posed the question of anti-Semitism as a thesis and then both probed the problem and developed its mechanism as a work of art.

Laurence Lipton has attempted just that. His central character is Max Levinsky of New York's East Side, who came up from the gutter the hard way, toward relative affluence to meet somewhere in his march toward economic security a wall of opposition. Levinsky, a distributor of advertising for a department store, Jew-owned, finds his merchandise destroyed, his men beaten, and uncovers an organized campaign to wreck his business and destroy him personally. Investigation shows that another larger department store, Gentile-owned, is behind the plan to ruin him. He finds, also, that the institution behind the dirty work is animated not only by profit-seeking motives but is largely impelled in its nefarious designs by its hatred of the Jew. The hero whose past is unsavory, struggles to counter the villainy of his enemies, finds himself unequal to the task, and jumps out of a high window.

In *Brother, the Laugh is Bitter*, Mr. Lipton told a lively and interesting story that reads easily and well. In the course of his narrative he has effectively articulated familiar themes on Americanism, Hitlerism, and the plight of the Jew. However, the anti-Semites of native vintage

the author set out to depict do not emerge from his book with the vividness with which his main character is delineated. These, while melodramatic, are unconvincing. For its sheer readability, however, the book is extremely worth while.

B. W.

*He Wanted to Sleep in the Kremlin*, by Gerhard Schacher. 261 pp. Reynal and Hitchcock, New York. \$2.00.

Dr. Schacher's is the voice that thrilled thousands of Americans at the time of Russia's deadly peril, last year, with an uncompromising conviction that Hitler's armies would never crush the Soviets. In *He Wanted to Sleep in the Kremlin*, the radio commentator takes up the pen in defense of the same thesis.

It is Dr. Schacher's contention that the infamous paper-hanger is but a tool in the hands of Prussian Junkers, permitted to rise from obscurity so that, behind him, the military class of Germany may both fool the masses of the Reich and build its own war machine and conquer the world; that this Junker-aristocrat-Prussian clique will discard Hitler at the earliest opportunity, and that there is not and never will be complete accord between Hitler's generals and the Fuehrer. Both want absolute power and neither trusts the other.

Dr. Schacher states that the best informed military circles in Germany and in Europe knew years before the war that Russia possessed the best-equipped and ably-led military forces in the world, and that its mechanized strength and air power was both modern and tremendous. Hitler chose to disregard this information and the advice of his High Command to desist from attacking the Soviets. Also he forgot the rigours of Russia's winters, and the experiences of Napoleon.

Dr. Schacher treads throughout his book along familiar ground, yet his volume is both stimulating and refreshing in that it punctures the common belief that long

ago Hitler had made his peace with his military advisers and that these are but obedient tools in his hands. His sarcasm of the Nazis is healthy, and buttressed with impressive statistics. He urges also complete trust in Soviet diplomacy, its aims and intentions, and he pleads that aid may be extended to the Soviet Republic, and that quickly.

B. W.

*School for Americans*, by John W. Powell. (The American Association for Adult Education, 200 pp.)

This book is a May 1942 publication on the work of the School of Social Studies of San Francisco conducted during the years 1933 to 1940, and founded and directed by Alexander Meiklejohn.

Your reviewer heard this experiment described some few years ago, and he recalls very clearly the reasons for the establishment of this school. Dr. Meiklejohn said then that one of the most important factors in the preparation for establishing the new school was the desire to carry out the work of the Experimental College of the University of Wisconsin, over which he presided and of which he was virtually the founder. There, as the reader will recall, from 1928 to 1933, college freshmen and sophomores had been set the task of understanding the whole pattern of human society, by finding out for themselves what is the order of parts and interests within such a society. The core of that scheme had been books; the method, discussion; the goal, a social intelligence capable of being applied to any field of ideas within the general frame of reference of the social pattern.

When, in 1933, Dr. Meiklejohn closed the books on the experimental college and came to California to write, he was met with an invitation to establish a new scheme of education for adults. The invitation came from a group of influential and socially-minded men and women in San Francisco, who were sincerely concerned about their country's problems and hopeful that adult education might lead Americans to seek, perhaps to find, new solutions.

Dr. Meiklejohn as Director, enlisted three other teachers in the planning of the school; his wife, whose career as a teacher and scholar of economics had gone hand in hand with a lifelong devo-

tion to philosophy, to literature, and to education; Charles Hogan, who held degrees from Oxford and from the University of California and who was teaching in the Dept. of Philosophy in Berkeley; and John Powell, who had taught in the Experimental College throughout its five years, and who was working in the Philosophy Department of the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. Meiklejohn said that the scheme of education which he and his group proposed was based basically on reading and discussing books about ideas, and ideas about the nature and processes of American society. His first statement of the plan was somewhat as follows:

"The chief problem of the school is that of working out teaching method in the field of adult education. The central theme of the school is the study of contemporary American society. The purpose of the school is to build up in the city a number of groups which are getting acquainted with the best reading on contemporary problems. If these groups can develop the habits of reading and sympathetic discussion of the writings done by our best thinkers in the field of social problems, the school will have done its work."

As an illustration, Dr. Meiklejohn told the group, in which your reviewer had the privilege of being included, that some of the books studied by the adult education students included the "Republic" of Plato, Dewey's "Individualism, Old and New," and "Reconstruction in Philosophy," John Strachey's "The Coming Struggle for Power," Veblen's "The Vested Interests," Tawney's "The Acquisitive Society," Ortega's "Revolt of the Masses," Rugg's "Culture and Education in America," as well as novels by Dreiser, dos Passos, and Thomas Wolfe. These suggest the variety and the level of the work on which the school's students were launched.

The book by John W. Powell, includes an extraordinary statement. It reads as follows:

"To a casual visitor—if visitors were allowed—the leader would ordinarily seem to be relatively inactive and undisturbed. But, in actual experience, the process of such teaching is found to be very exhausting, and also to require the most careful and precise preparation. One finds here the dilemma which besets all forms of democratic leadership. In one sense the leader must do nothing. His

students cannot be educated by him; they must educate themselves. But in another sense, leadership is the prime requisite of all group activity. Nothing is more helpless, more inept, more sure to go astray, than a group of people meeting for a common purpose but with no arrangement for the focusing of that purpose in some single mind which assumes responsibility for its realization. Here is the fundamental paradox of teaching. And nowhere does it appear more vividly, with greater force, than when the members of the group are mature persons, capable of forming their own ideas, and facing situations with which they must deal not as children but as responsible participants in the making of a social order. This is government with the consent of the governed. It is leadership in which those who rule are the servants, as well as the guides, of those whom they lead. And the basis of human preference for such democracy is not that it eases the burden of government. No free institutions do that. They make far heavier demands on the minds and characters of both rulers and ruled than do the processes of aristocracy. But the essential point is that, just as autocracy in the State denies the human purposes which it is established to further, so do paternalism and dogmatism and 'instruction' in teaching. The teacher in a democracy must make heavy, severe, rigorous demands upon his students; but it must be clear, to them as well as to him, that these demands come not from him but from themselves—from the enterprise which, together with him, they have freely chosen to follow."

Those who are interested in the development of adult education schools can use this book as a veritable text in connection with their work.

P. L. S.

*The New Order in Poland*, by Dr. Simon Segal, 286 pp., \$3.00, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Dr. Simon Segal in "The New Order in Poland," discusses the Underground Movement in Poland in a chapter entitled "Poland Fights Back." A few items are of special interest to the community center leader for the reason that many of his clientele or members stem from this group: One is with reference to the Ghetto in Warsaw. Here the author refers

to a proclamation which was jointly published by the major groups in the Polish underground labor movement. In it, the solidarity of interest of the working people of all nationalities living in Poland was solemnly proclaimed. The Polish workers declared that the establishment of the ghetto was directed not only against the Jews but against the Polish working masses as well. They also said that by the establishment of the ghetto the Nazis were seeking to separate the working people of various nationalities and attempting to divert the hatred of the Poles from the occupation authorities to the Jews. The proclamation warned that there are no degrees in slavery and there are no better or worse categories of slaves. The Polish people understand the meaning of that game, and reject with contempt the position proposed to them to become better types of slaves because of the fact that they are not enclosed in a ghetto. In the fact of the brutality of the invaders the Polish people recognize only two classes; those who submit and compromise with the oppressors, and those who fight against them. This cunning method of separating the Poles from the Jews is a diabolical technique of the Nazi.

What is of special interest in Dr. Segal's study is the fact that the underground movement seems to be aware of the fact that the anti-Jewish policies of the previous regimes weakened the nation and has energetically rejected anti-Semitism in the future Poland.

P. L. S.

## TO FOUNDING SUBSCRIBERS

### FORUM LECTURE

The first public lecture in the series sponsored by the CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM will be held on Tuesday, October 20, 1942. The speaker and the subject will be announced later.

### PERIODIC REPORTS

The first of the CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM special reports to which the Founding Subscribers are entitled, will also be mailed out in October.

## *Letters to the Editor*

Sir:

There are those today who advocate that the Jew should be silent, should refuse to express any opinion about Herr Schickelgruber. The reasoning behind this is that hatred of the Fuehrer, *when proclaimed and advocated by a Jew*, is likely to be detrimental to all Jews.

These are the same people who argue that it is not tactful for Jews to openly take any steps to ward off and counter-vene discrimination and anti-Semitism, who advocate "hush-hush" tactics on many subjects Jewish.

They do not realize the folly of their timidity. The entire civilized world, is up in arms against the Nazi barbarism. Why should the Jew remain silent? Silence is really lending comfort to the enemy.

In this country everyone is entitled to his opinion. Here, too, however, there is still the criterion of good common horse sense to be observed. Is it good sense to state that in a war such as we today are engaged in that any section of the population should remain silent concerning the justness of our cause, and the principles for which we are fighting. On the contrary, it is in fact our duty to proclaim these things, and to fight by word and deed against Hitler and Hitlerism, against discrimination and injustice. It is our right and our obligation so to do.

It is argued that since the Jews are a primary attacking point for Nazism they should remain silent lest they be accused of having a selfish interest in the war. It might just as well be argued that Coventry should remain aloof from the fighting, since it, too, has been a primary target for the Germans. Or that the French and Belgians and Dutch and Czechs and Yugoslavs and Russians should remain silent lest they be accused of having a selfish interest in the War.

No! The Jew in America is an American citizen. His religion is Jewish. Under our Constitution it is his right to worship freely, just as it is his right to drink coffee or drink tea. The Jew in America is first of all an American and secondly a believer in certain religious principles. As an American and as a believer in the way of American life, it is his right and duty to defend the American way against all other ways of life, and to defend Americanism in whatever way he can and to the limit of his powers.

Let each of us talk against our enemies, and fight against them. More than our duty, it is, and should be, the first and dearest wish of our hearts. Americans, all of us, Gentile and Jew alike.

Maxwell N. Andalman, President,  
The Decalogue Society of Lawyers

Sir:

In the early stages of the present World War, a writer of vision in commenting on the war objectives stated that we must "win the peace" which will follow a victorious conclusion of the war. This phrase is a happy one and has much to commend it from the standpoint of literary originality as well as sound war discussion. In the many months following the first use of this phrase, many writers and speakers have adopted the same words with the glib assumption that the war will be won at our convenience and that we must *now* give serious thought to winning the peace. The constant repetition of this phrase—"winning the peace"—at this time has neither literary originality, novelty nor practical common sense to commend or excuse it. While the first suggestion of devoting thought to an equitable peace was sensible and proper, the phrase is now overworked and its indiscriminate use at this time may produce harm in a slackening of the war effort.

The vice in the constant talk of "winning the peace" lies in the dangerous assumption that our winning the war is assured. With the loss of Singapore, Hong Kong, the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines, with the Russians being driven deeper and deeper into the Caucasus, with the reverses of the British in Africa, with the terrifying sinking of American merchantmen off our shores, we cannot indulge in idle chatter about winning the peace. All of our energies must be concentrated towards winning the war and only when victory—which now looms only in the uncertainties of the distant future—is assured can we speak of winning the peace. At such time, and such time only, will a widespread discussion of this subject be timely and proper.

The important requisite for winning any kind of peace is first winning the war. Let us all concentrate on that first and foremost objective.

Very truly yours,  
David F. Silverzweig

.... and .... a happy new year

*Joseph Lipshutz*

More power to you on the launching of the Chicago Jewish Forum. We are all with you in this great cause. We know you will build it into a powerful medium in defense of progressive Democracy and militant Judaism.

*A. Paul Holleb*

The best motivations of democracy are derived from a deep understanding of human nature. Let it be the purpose of the FORUM to further such understanding.

*Henry L. Burman*  
Master-in-Chancery

No public accomplishment is of greater importance than what contributes to the cause of a democratic way of life. Now when this cause is threatened we must pledge ourselves to defend it.

*Jack Levin*  
President  
Sinai Sausage Co.

In adversity and in distress let our guiding principle ever be allegiance to the ideals of our forefathers. In that lies our strength and promise of survival.

*David F. Silverzweig*

Freedom is a divine word given by God to man. In this solemn hour let us defend this principle—etched in the blood of millions — that mankind must be free.

*S. Jesmer*

May the Chicago Jewish Forum be yet another agency in behalf of a genuine Americanism and militant democracy.

*Samuel S. Byron*

The preservation of the Jew is indissolubly bound up with the victory of democracy. No sacrifices should be spared to maintain this truth.

*Meyer Schuman*

Let us dedicate ourselves once more on this occasion of the New Year to the great principles of democracy which are the cornerstone of our Republic.

*Harry Marcus*

In culture and in enlightenment lies the promise of a better world to come. May this be the masthead of the Forum.

*Fred Fischman*  
Alderman, 24th Ward

In these critical and strenuous times, let us stand behind our great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and do our utmost in support of the sacred cause of which he is the leader.

*Arthur X. Elrod*  
Chief Deputy Bailiff

May the coming year strengthen the power of our friends and increase the might and glory of our nation and make steadfast our purpose in the vanquishing of our enemies.

## . . . . and . . . . a happy new year

*Maxwell N. Andelman*

Pres. Decalogue Society of Lawyers

We are fighting as never before in world history that the rights of men may triumph. May the Chicago Jewish Forum prove a worthy champion of such rights.

*Harry H. Malkin*

Asst. Judge Probate Court

In communal efforts, in our concern with the problems of our fellow-men, we may discharge the primary duties of free Americans.

*Frank E. Shudnow*

Master-in-Chancery

In this grave world crisis let us be mindful of our responsibilities and resolve to spare no sacrifices in defense of our beloved land.

*William J. Robinson*

Never before in Jewish history has the need for a clear statement of our problems been more imperative. It is my hope that the Forum will contribute toward this end.

*George S. Lavin*

No cause is more pressing, no concern more immediate than the proposition of winning this war. Be it the primary aim of the Chicago Jewish Forum to advance this thesis.

*David Saul Klafter*

Not only must we do our utmost in the war effort, but we must prepare to aid in the restoration of war-torn Europe.

*Max Manischewitz*

May it be your destiny to record happier days for Kol Yisroel and all the people of the world.

*Jacob L. Friedman*

Trustee, Sanitary District

The mobilization of our resources, physical and spiritual, to the utter annihilation of our enemies, is the prerequisite to a victory of the democratic cause.

*Charles E. Kaye*

More power to THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM in its dissemination of truth and the furtherance of the principles of culture and Jewish traditions.

*Meyer Berkovsky*

The survival of Judaism will depend upon our loyalty to our traditions. The defense of Democracy is a defense of the Jewish principles of social justice and ethical living.

*Michael Shapiro*

Let us hope that the New Year brings some mitigation of human suffering over the earth and a strengthening of the forces of freedom.

*Nathan D. Kaplan*

Pres. Zionist Organization of Chicago

Democracy is more than a creed of government. Its' axioms require translation into living. Therein lies its very meaning and essence.

## . . . . and . . . . a happy new year

*Julius H. Miner*  
Judge, Superior Court

From times immemorial, Jews have borne high the torch of education. Now when the foes of enlightenment once more threaten to engulf the world, the Jew must fight to preserve his heritage.

*Albert Schwartz*  
Asst. Corp. Counsel

Our confidence in American youth, steeped as it is in democratic principles of government, is our best guarantee of freedom.

*David G. Abrams*

Of great importance today is the winning of the war. The existence of a humane civilization demands that we fully consecrate ourselves towards this end.

*Sol Miller*

May a deep and abiding faith in our institutions be forever a guiding principle of the Forum policy.

*Emil Friedman*

L'Shono Tovv Ti Kosevu to the new magazine! I am confident that it will surpass the expectations of its friends.

*Nathan Balter*  
Chief Deputy Recorder

Jewish solidarity with the cause of freedom stems from its age-old struggle for the rights of man. Today, as never before, it is impregnable in its allegiance to this concept.

*Louis A. Wittenberg*  
Pres. Loop Orthodox Synagogue

Jewish traditions are safe guides in critical periods of our history. They remain the bulwark of the future preservation of our people.

*Dr. N. D. Lieberfarb*

You can count on full cooperation from your friends in making your magazine an effective instrument for the common good.

*Benjamin P. Epstein*  
Judge

Let us hope the New Year brings some mitigation of human suffering over the earth and a strengthening of the forces of freedom.

*Dr. Charles H. Zun*

We must win not only the war but the peace. Sensible discussion of *ideas* is a means to this end.

*Samuel E. Hoffman*

As responsible American citizens and as a people of Jewish faith we must subordinate all to the end that this Republic prosper and grow stronger.

*Max Karasik*

No lip service is adequate to meet obligations imposed upon us by these crucial times. We must show daily, by example and deed how to meet emergencies.

*New Year Greetings*



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## *A Happy New Year*

*"Leshono Tavo Tikosevu"*

An individual attains security of position among the people of his society from the strength of his own character.

A nation achieves security for its citizens among the peoples of the world from the strength and character of its leadership.

Let us choose our leaders wisely in this hour of America's destiny.



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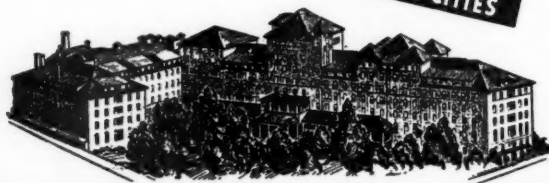
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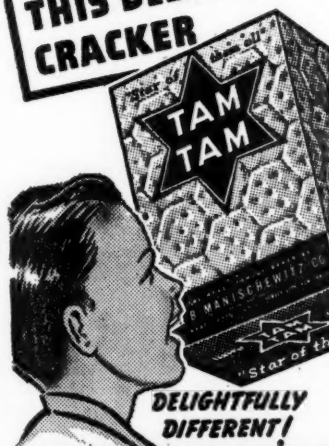
3527-29 ROOSEVELT ROAD

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THE ASSOCIATED TALMUD TORAHS of Chicago champions the cause of maximum religious education for the greatest number of American Jewish children and wishes its directors, subscribers, members, and friends

A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS YEAR.

Rabbi Ephraim Epstein, Pres.

Rabbi Menahem B. Sacks, Exec. Director

Rabbi Leonard C. Mishkin, Educational Director

*Sincerest Wishes for a Happy and Prosperous New Year*

**MICHAEL ROSINIA**

CITY PROSECUTING ATTORNEY

*To make the entire year a real happy one — ask for*

**ROSEN'S RYE BREAD**

*every day of the year*

*A Happy New Year from*

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FOR BETTER CUSTOM CLOTHES

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Chicago's Largest Complete Auto Repair Shop

4510 W. Madison Street

24-Hour Towing Service

Estebrook 3600

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TO JEWISH PARENTS

*Rosh Hashonah, 5703*

It is our primary obligation to our children to equip them with the intelligence and faith which they need in this struggle for the preservation of democracy and the Jewish way of life. A thorough Jewish education will be of great help in enabling your children to face their problems with understanding and courage.

*The Board of Jewish Education*

*Chicago, Illinois*

### SCHOOLS AFFILIATED WITH THE BOARD OF JEWISH EDUCATION

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Anshe Emet Synagogue  
Atereth Zion  
Beth El Congregation  
Temple Beth Israel  
Central Hebrew High School  
Congregational High School  
The College of Jewish Studies  
Congregation Bnai Israel  
Congregation Bnai Shalom  
Congregation Bnai Zion  
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Kehilath Jacob  
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Ner Tamid Congregation  
North Shore Congregation Israel  
Congregation Rodfei Zedek  
South Shore Temple  
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*Joins His Friends in Wishing*

**KOL YISROEL**

*A Happy Deliverance from  
the Tribulations of the Day*

## HOLLEB & CO.

*Wholesale Grocers*

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*The Holleb Trade-Mark Is  
Your Guarantee of Quality*

In serving the needs of the Jewish household we have but scrupulously adhered to the high standards of quality indicated by our founders. . . That shall always be our policy. . .

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## Wilno Kosher Sausage Co.

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*Greetings of the Season*

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**WILLIAM A. POPE**  
**COMPANY**

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*Power Plant Piping*  
*Heating and Power Plants*

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26 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET

PHONE: MONROE 4000

May it be the Destiny of the  
Chicago Jewish Forum to prosper  
in a world free of Hitlerism

⑥

**A. EPSTEIN**

*Structural Engineer*

⑥

TOWER BUILDING

2001 PERSHING ROAD

**SERVICE DECORATING COMPANY**

PAINTING AND DECORATING

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*NEW YEAR GREETINGS***APEX PAPER BOX CORPORATION***Manufacturers of PAPER BOXES*

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Phone: Canal 2365  
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F U R S

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COMMERCIAL FINANCING

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Chief Investigator and Public Administrator of Cook County

WISHES YOU A HAPPY NEW YEAR  
-----*Greetings from the makers of***MOTHER HUBBARD CAKES & CHEESE**1106 West Roosevelt Road  
-----*A HAPPY NEW YEAR FROM***S. W. MALTZ**

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*Our Founders, SAM PISER and MAX E. YAFFE, bequeathed to us  
a sense of duty and a profound regard for the observance  
of Jewish traditions. It is in this spirit of reverential  
service that we maintain our bond with the bereaved.*

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For every purpose, style or type.  
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(Manufacturers Since 1904)

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LARGEST  
SELECTION  
GOLD POINTS!  
36 SO. STATE ST. 8th Floor  
Phone STAtE 5952 Side.

*Greetings from*

**MORRIS PERLMAN**

*General Contractors*



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*Let Us All Build for a  
Happier New Year*

## **H. KAPLAN & CO.**

**General Contractors • Builders**

749-51 North Paulina Street  
Haymarket 4747-4748

*A Happy New Year*

## **CAPITOL DAIRY CO.**

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3942 Ferdinand Street

*The Management and Employees  
of the*

## **Crescent Bronze Powder Co.**

116 W. Illinois Street

**WISH YOU A HAPPY AND  
PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR**

*Best Wishes for the NEW YEAR*

The Bismarck Hotel extends its  
best wishes to its many friends  
and patrons for a year of progress  
and prosperity

Emil Eitel, Karl Eitel, Otto Eitel

## **BISMARCK HOTEL**

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*Best Wishes for the NEW YEAR*

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Phone: Kedzie 5151

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Phone: Armitage 1098

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*Served in a Modern Way*

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*NEW YEAR GREETINGS*

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*on All Subjects*

*Including RARE BOOKS and  
FINE BINDINGS*

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*extends its many patrons*

*sincere wishes for a*

*happy and prosperous*

*New Year*

## Mr. & Mrs. AARON WEINRAUB

and Sons

PAUL and JOSEPH

7643 PHILLIPS AVENUE

*Extend Best Wishes*

*for a*

*Happy and Prosperous*

*New Year*

VOTE TO REELECT

JUDGE

### JAY A. SCHILLER

Regular Democratic Candidate

for ASSOCIATE JUDGE of the

Municipal Court of Chicago

# THE ARGUS BOOK SHOP

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TELEPHONE: STATE 6156



*Dealers in*

RARE BOOKS, FIRST EDITIONS,

FINE BINDINGS,

DE LUXE EDITIONS,

CURRENT BOOKS and

GIFT BOOKS

*Greetings from*

NORTH AMERICAN

CAR CORPORATION



327 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET

5703 — 1942

## SINAI KOSHER Sausage Factory

and

## KOSHER STAR Sausage Mfg. Co.

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*At the dawn of Western Civilization  
our people preached the message of  
Peace and Good Will. In this dark  
hour of human history on the occasion  
of a New Year, we should all  
rededicate ourselves to the ethical  
and religious teachings of our  
Fathers in the hope of a  
happy world to come.*

VOTE TO REELECT

JUDGE

LEON EDELMAN

Regular Democratic Candidate

for ASSOCIATE JUDGE of the

Municipal Court of Chicago

NEW YEAR GREETINGS

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- GENERAL CONTRACTORS

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*Invites you to join the crowds each Monday eve. for top-notch boxing matches*

MARIGOLD GARDENS, Broadway and Grace Streets

**HOTEL GREENVIEW**

*Englewood's Newest and Most Beautiful Hotel*

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MAURICE BELLOWS, President

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CLERK OF THE PROBATE COURT

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*Greetings from*

**BERKMAN'S HEALTH CLUB**

*A Distinctive Health Service*

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VOTE TO ELECT

## LAWRENCE S. JACOBSON

*Republican Candidate for*

J U D G E

Municipal Court of Chicago

*Member*

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PEOPLES LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

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Chicago Office

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Matters of Insurance

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AND EMPLOYEES OF THE

# AMALGAMATED Trust & Savings Bank

MONROE AT DEARBORN STREET

*Greet their patrons and friends  
in the spirit of the Season  
and wish them all a  
HAPPY NEW YEAR.*

*We Wish Our Many Friends  
A Happy and Prosperous  
New Year*



Mr. and Mrs. I. DEEMAR  
4935 North Hamlin Avenue



VOTE TO RE-ELECT

## OSCAR S. CAPLAN

*Regular Democratic Candidate  
for Associate Judge of the  
Municipal Court of Chicago*

## Jaffe and Albert FUNERAL DIRECTORS



*In your hour of sorrow when  
no circumstance may mitigate  
your loss, our services, rever-  
ential and understanding, are  
always yours to command.*



704 SOUTH CRAWFORD AVENUE  
Van Buren 6400

5145 BROADWAY  
Longbeach 7286

*Greetings from*

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at Washington, Northwest Corner

*Patronize*

## The Loop Kosher Restaurant

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### Lighting Fixtures

For Homes, Hotels and Stores

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Phone: Haymarket 6614

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MONUMENTS, HEADSTONES, STATUES,  
MARKERS, FENCING, ETC.

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Beer Dispensing Equipment

Electro-Plating

Restaurant Equipment

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**TURNER BROS.**

Corner Roosevelt Road and Halsted Street

*ROSH HASHONAH GREETINGS from ROBERT J. and MAX EITEL*

*To our many friends and patrons our best wishes for a Happy and Prosperous New Year*

**Eitel Restaurant**

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**Eitel Restaurant**

N. W. STATION

**Eitel Restaurant**

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PAINTING CONTRACTORS

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Telephone: Columbus 3636

*Rosh Hashonah Greetings*

**RUBENSTEIN BROTHERS**

JEWELRY

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**CENTRAL MUTUAL PLATE GLASS INSURANCE COMPANY**

*Wish You A Happy New Year*

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GREETINGS

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INVESTIGATE OUR RATES FIRST and avail yourself of Chicago's greatest membership offer. Every day 10 a.m. to 9:30 p.m.

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*from*

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**H. B. GOLDBERG**  
and Company

*Custom Tailors*

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VOTE TO RE-ELECT

JUDGE

**Charles E. Dougherty**

Regular Democratic Candidate

for

Associate Judge

of the

Municipal Court of Chicago

A HAPPY NEW YEAR

**Homan Furniture House**

Harry Moscovitz, President

Wholesale to Dealers

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Phone: Kedzie 1300

*Best Wishes for A Happy and  
Prosperous New Year*

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Mr. and Mrs. HARRY LEAF

1101 Pratt Blvd.

Mr. and Mrs. SAM SHANKMAN

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*Rosh Hashonah Greetings*

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*Holiday Greetings*  
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*PAINTS — WALLPAPER — DECORATORS' SUPPLIES*

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*INSURANCE ADJUSTMENTS*

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*New Year Greetings*  
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*QUALITY CLEANERS*

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*CAPCO — Master Painters Enamel Products*

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- LEON ZIMMERMAN, President

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**SMITH COAL CO.**

4550 W. Roosevelt Road - JERRY SMITH, Secretary - Phone Nevada 3310

*Greetings from*

**RANCROFT HOTEL**

89 WEST RANDOLPH STREET

Our heartfelt wishes for success to *The Chicago Jewish Forum* and to its staff of editors, artists and contributors upon its mission to establish a powerful medium to reflect the aspirations of militant democracy and true Americanism. May it grow in esteem and influence as a vital factor for the cause of decent journalism.

SOLOMON and JULIUS JESMER

*Greetings*

**MAURY CHALET**

HIGH GRADE FURS

190 North State Street

Phone: Dearborn 2289

**KOSHER ZION SAUSAGE CO.**

449-459 NORTH 37TH STREET

*Extend to You Wishes for a Happy New Year*

THE COMPLETE ISSUE OF THIS MAGAZINE

WAS DESIGNED, SET-UP, AND PRINTED BY

***The Falcon Press***

501 PLYMOUTH COURT, CHICAGO

SUBSCRIBE TO THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM

